

**Municipal Library,  
NAINI TAL.**



*Class No.*      **960**

*Book No.*      **H 98 F**





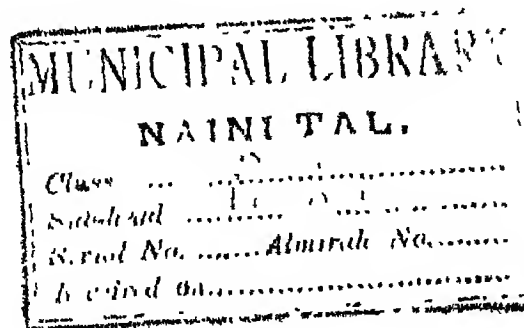
Key to photographs on pages 2 & 3

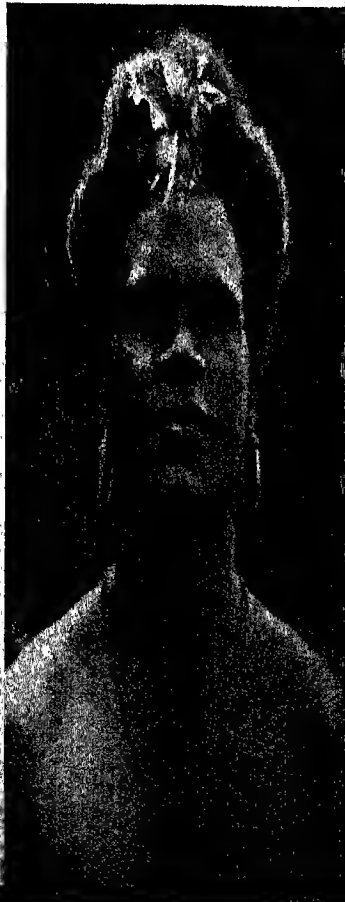
*Top Row Left to Right*

- A BARRISTER AT LAW, BR. GUIANA (*Mungol Lubinski*)  
 ASHANTI GIRL, WEST AFRICA - (*Mungol Lubinski*  
*photo by Meyerowitz*)  
 THE EMIR OF KATSINA, NIGERIA - (*Mungol Lubinski*  
*photo by Meyerowitz*)  
 A DINKA WARRIOR, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (*Black Star*)

*Bottom Row Left to Right*

- A MERCHANT, MALAY - - - (*Dorien Leigh Ltd.*)  
 A NATIVE BOY, NEW GUINEA - (*Dorien Leigh Ltd.*)  
 A CARIB WOMAN, BR. HONDURAS - - (*Lubinski*)  
 A HIGH-CLASS SINGALESE, Ceylon (*Dorien Leigh Ltd.*)







# TARGET FOR TOMORROW No. 8

EDITORIAL BOARD

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, DR JULIAN HUXLEY, SIR JOHN BOYD ORR

EDITOR : CHARLES MADGE

## THE FUTURE OF THE COLONIES

*by*

Julian Huxley  
and Phyllis Deane

1944

THE PILOT PRESS LTD  
45 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.1

## LIST OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION - - - - 7 THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE - 13 EMPIRE IN THE MAKING - - 16 INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COLONIES - - - 20	THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOP- MENT OF THE COLONIES - - 22 WELFARE IN THE COLONIES - - 30 PLANS FOR THE COLONIES - - 40 A TARGET FOR THE COLONIES - 56 GENERAL TARGET - - - - 63
--	--

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
A GOLD COAST COUNCIL OF CHIEFS ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> ) - - - -	Frontispiece	X-RAY DEPARTMENT IN UGANDA HOSPITAL, ( <i>Dorien Leigh, Ltd.</i> ) - - - -	35
MAITA HARBOUR ( <i>Charles E. Brown</i> ) -	14	A BUSH SCHOOL IN A NUBA VILLAGE ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> ) - - - -	37
CHRISTIANSBURG CASTLE ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> )	15	THE LIBRARY GATES OF KING'S COLLEGE, UGANDA ( <i>Dorien Leigh, Ltd.</i> ) - -	37
TRIBAL DANCERS ( <i>Dorien Leigh, Ltd.</i> ) -	17	LOCUST HORDE ( <i>Paul Popper</i> ) - - -	39
HARBOUR AT SECONDHI ( <i>Dorien Leigh, Ltd.</i> )	17	TEACHERS' STAFF MEETING ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> )	52
A DISTRICT OFFICER HEARING COMPLAINTS ( <i>Paul Popper</i> ) - - - -	24	CHINESE SCHOOL GIRLS, SINGAPORE ( <i>J. F. Friend</i> ) - - - -	53
A NATIVE PARLIAMENT IN SESSION ( <i>Exclusive News Agency</i> ) - - - -	25	LEARNING THE ALPHABET ( <i>M.O.I.</i> ) -	53
CENSUS-TAKING IN JAMAICA ( <i>Photo Pictorial Press</i> ) - - - -	26	TALENTED WOMEN HARVESTING GUINEA CORN ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> ) - - - -	54
LORD SWINTON AND AFRICAN ASSISTANT DISTRICT COMMISSIONER ( <i>War Office</i> ) -	27	A NATIVE WEAVER ON GOLD COAST ( <i>J. F. Friend</i> ) - - - -	54
PREPARING FOU-FOU ( <i>J. F. Friend</i> ) -	29	AN ELEPHANT-DRAWN STEEL PLOUGH ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> ) - - - -	55
STUDENTS OF UYO SCHOOL ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> )	30	A GOLD COAST TAILOR AT WORK ( <i>Margot Lubinski</i> ) - - - -	55
AFRICAN VICTIMS OF SLEEPING SICKNESS ( <i>Dorien Leigh, Ltd.</i> ) - - - -	35	A WEST AFRICAN DESPATCH RIDER ( <i>J. F. Friend</i> ) - - - -	63

## LIST OF DIAGRAMS

	PAGE		PAGE
AREAS AND POPULATIONS UNDER VARIOUS COLONIAL POWERS - - - -	9	WORLD COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1944 -	23
EXPORTS OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE - -	10	INFANT MORTALITY - - - -	32
RELIGIONS AND RACES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE - - - -	11	GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON SOCIAL SERVICES - - - -	33
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION	12	Diagrams by <i>J. F. Horrabin and Leonard Beaumont. Art Editor: R. L. Hornsby.</i>	
THE MAP OF AFRICA - - - -	16		

PRINTED IN ENGLAND BY W. S. COWELL LTD., IPSWICH AND LONDON  
 BOUND BY WEBB, SON & CO. LTD., LONDON

1857



# INTRODUCTION

THE colonial problem, looked at historically, is a particular facet of the expansion of the white peoples of Europe and European origin which has been going on for the five centuries since the end of the Middle Ages.

In this expansion we can distinguish three main stages. There was first the stage of conquest and economic pillage. Sometimes, as in North America, the indigenous peoples were exterminated or driven out of large areas which were then settled by the invading whites; sometimes, as in South and Central America, the local inhabitants were conquered and white rule established, together with a certain amount of settlement; and sometimes, as in tropical Africa in the first centuries after its discovery by white men, trader-adventurers took toll of the resources of the region, notably in gold and precious substances like ivory and spices, and in human slaves. The industrial revolution brought a further wave of imperialist expansion, which led to all the available backward areas of the world being conquered or otherwise taken over as colonies by white nations (or by their imitators such as the Japanese).

The second main phase was that of exploitation, primarily in the interests of the metropolitan country. Sometimes this was conducted on mercantilist principles vis-a-vis the white settlers, sometimes the colony was regarded as an outlet for planters and mining companies in search of cheap labour, sometimes the interest was primarily a strategical one. In reaction against this policy, almost all the colonies with a population predominantly composed of or ruled by white settlers, achieved their independence, either as separate nations, as in the U.S.A. and Latin America, or as Dominions within the British Commonwealth. The exceptions were in the main strategic colonies such as Malta or Gibraltar, or territories which reverted from independence owing to economic difficulties, such as

Newfoundland.

Here and there, the phase of economic pillage was continued far into that of peaceful exploitation. The outstanding example was the Congo while it remained the personal possession of King Leopold. Private adventurers had also continued the slave trade long after the white nations had, one after the other, agreed to prohibit it.

The third phase is one which is still in process of development. We may call it the phase of trusteeship.

This stage was initiated by concepts such as Lord Lugard's "Dual Mandate," and was further extended after the last war by the formal adoption by the League of Nations of the principle of trusteeship in relation to the mandated territories, and by Britain in its colonial policy in general. However, it needed the present war to bring about the further development adumbrated by the adoption of the term partnership in place of trusteeship.

The full implications of this new phase have not yet been drawn in theory, still less implemented in practice. It behoves the people of Britain, as citizens of the leading colonial power, to think out these implications fully and thoroughly, and then to see that they are translated into action as rapidly as possible. This, however, cannot be properly accomplished unless we look at the question in the light of the general revolution of thought and action now accomplishing itself throughout the world, a process of which the war is merely a symptom.

That revolution, so far as we who are exposed to it can make a dispassionate estimate of its essential trends, as opposed to its irrelevant accidents and the temporary distortions of the process, will not be completed until two main goals have been achieved. The first is the prevention or radical reduction of war and the risk of war; the second is the setting up of a universal minimum but constantly rising standard of

health, economic security, social welfare, and educational opportunity, below which no human being should be allowed to fall in the words of Vice-President Wallace, "the inauguration of the Century of the Common Man."

Both demand a certain degree of international organization, and also a considerable recasting of the internal organization and economy of separate nations.

How do the colonies and their problems look against this background? In the first place, the changed attitude engendered in and by the present revolution of ideas implies that the expansion of the white races must again change in its character. Conquest, settlement and economic pillage can now have only a historical interest, as exhibits of past ages in the world's historical museum. Mercantilism, or exploitation deliberately designed to favour the metropolitan power; the idea of colonies and their peoples as possessions, and the holding of colonies for their strategic advantages to single nations—these too are already beginning to pass away, and if our analysis of the trends of the revolution of our times is correct, must do so entirely, and join their predecessors as mere historical exhibits. This is essential if our minimum international anti-war organization is to come into being. So long as colonies can be treated as national possessions to be used as pawns in the game of military and economic power politics, or milch-cows for the enrichment of their national owners, we shall still be thinking and acting in that framework of nationalism which makes organized international co-operation impossible. And so long as the colonial peoples can be treated as inferiors, whether explicitly by colour-bar legislation or implicitly as not entitled to the same standard of life and living as ourselves, we shall still be to that extent bound by the ideas of the economics of scarcity and the consequent exploitation of some sections of the human race by others, which make it impossible to embark on that thorough-going policy of expansionism which is necessary to achieve our universal minimum standard and its progressive raising. This implies that the doctrine of our trusteeship for the colonial peoples must be replaced by that of our partnership with them, and that this partnership must be aimed ultimately at their attainment of equality of status—political, economic and cultural—with the rest of the world.

It would be utopian to expect such equality to be reached immediately. Politically, it will for some time be out of the question for most colonies to be self-governing; and in the meanwhile the main responsibility for administration must, or at least will best, continue to be undertaken by the existing colonial powers. Economically and culturally, the standard of life of most colonial peoples is still so low and lags so far behind that of the advanced industrial nations, that it must be a matter of several generations before it can be raised to anything like our present level. And in the meanwhile we must assume that our own standards will also have been raised, though probably not by so large an amount, so that equality will still not have been attained.

But if the idea of attaining our new goals at one bound is utopian, it is not utopian to mark our course and move along it as quickly as possible. The direction of colonial policy can be firmly defined, and so, within somewhat wider limits, can its rate of advance. Our target will then consist largely in defining this direction more fully, in mapping the future course of policy in some detail, and in laying down in broad outline the time-schedule according to which the first early steps in the advance can be taken.

And finally, when we come to consider our own role and that of the white peoples in general in the process, we must make up our minds that the old type of imperialist expansion is dead and done with. The only type of expansion that is now legitimate, because it alone will fit in with the trends of the times, is a cultural expansion. We, the separate colonial powers and the white race as a whole, can and should still export brains and skill to the colonies, can and should help their people to acquire such of our ideas and inventions as will help their advance, can and should fertilize their countries with our accumulated wealth and our accumulated experience, and with the machines and techniques to which they have given rise. That will help the colonial peoples; but it will also help the economic prosperity of the world as a whole, including that of the colonial powers. The next and final phase of white expansion must express itself in assisting the development of the world's backward and undeveloped regions, of which the colonies are an important section.

# AREAS & POPULATIONS under various COLONIAL POWERS

## Territories under INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Tangier, Sudan, New Hebrides

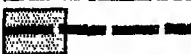


## MANDATES

BRITISH Dominion (and



FRENCH




BELGIAN





JAPANESE



Each  1 million sq. kilometres area

Each  = 2 million inhabitants

 except for India & Burma where each  = 10 millions

## COLONIES & other DEPENDENCIES

BRITISH & Dominion [excl. India & Burma]



India and Burma (see special note)



DUTCH



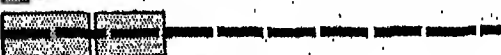
FRENCH



JAPANESE



U.S.A.



BELGIAN



PORTUGUESE



ITALIAN



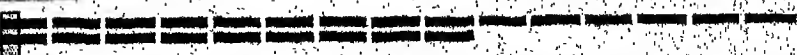
OTHER (Spanish, Danish, Norwegian)



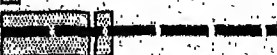
Compare the

## BRITISH FREE COMMONWEALTH

UNITED KINGDOM



UNION of S. AFRICA



CANADA



AUSTRALIA



NEW ZEALAND



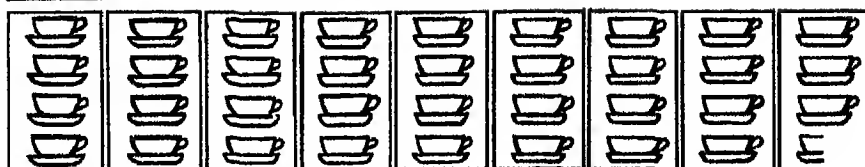
[from League of Nations Statistical Year-book]

J. H. H. H. H.

Hides and Skins



Coffee  
Cocoa  
Tea



Palm kernels & oils, &  
other oilseeds & oils



Cotton & other fibres



Bananas, citrus fruits  
& pineapples



Rubber  
& other gums  
& resins



Tin



Mineral oil



Diamonds



Other Minerals



Coconut products



Groundnuts



Spices & condiments



Sugar, rum,  
molasses, etc.



Timber & wood



Tobacco & cigars



**EXPORTS**  
of the Colonial Empire  
1953

Each symbol = £500,000

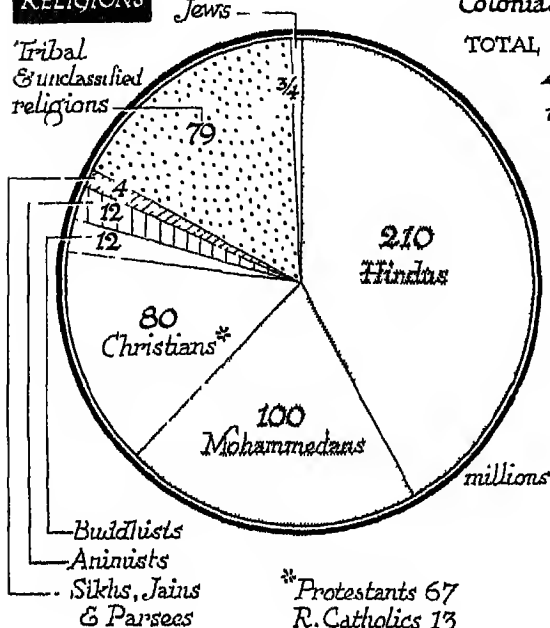
Leonard Beaumont

[from Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire]

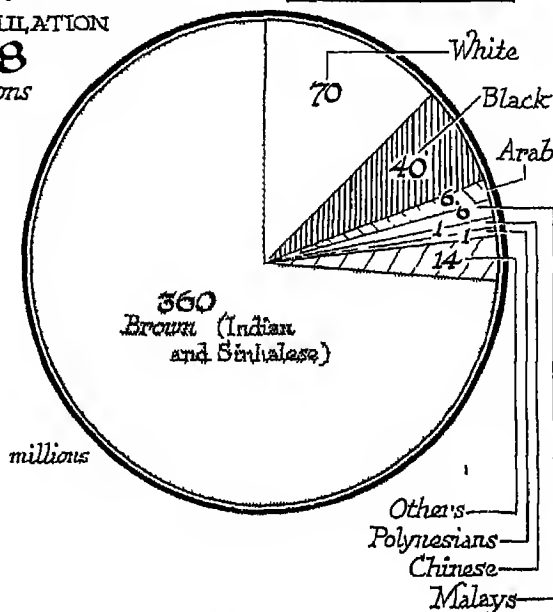
# RELIGIONS and RACES of the BRITISH EMPIRE

i.e., Free Commonwealth, Indian Empire, Colonial Empire, etc.

## RELIGIONS



## Race & Nationality

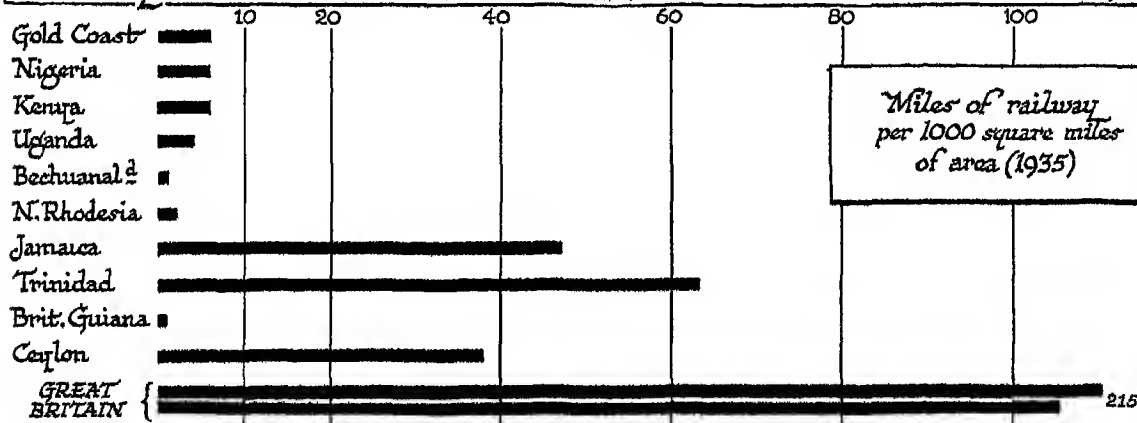


[from Whittaker's Almanack]

## Railways & Commercial Vehicles

in some colonies :

[from Statistical Abstract of the British Empire]



Nigeria  
Sierra Leone  
Kenya  
Nyasaland  
Brit. Honduras  
Brit. Guiana

Number of commercial motor vehicles (including omnibuses) per 1000 sq. miles (1935)

J.F.H.

Ceylon { 248

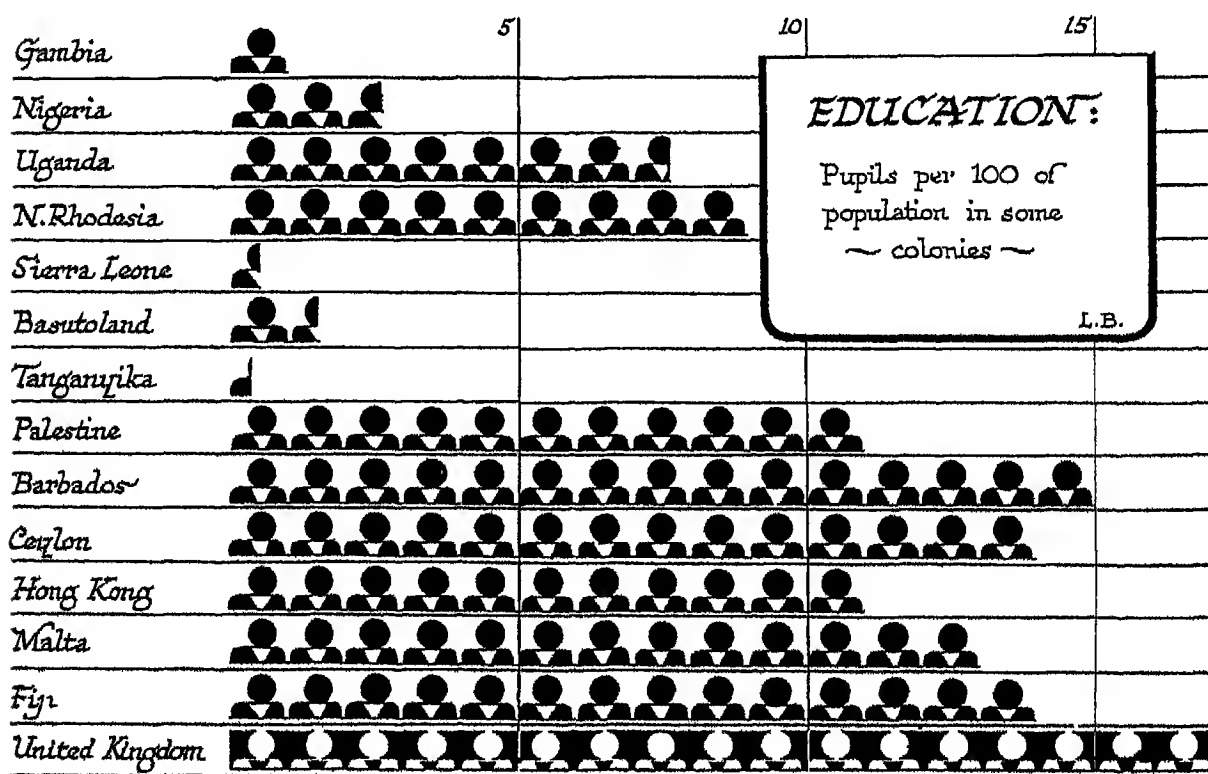
UNITED KINGDOM has 5,250 — or more than 21 times as many as Ceylon —

1851

# Government Expenditure on Education

## per head of Schoolchildren in some African Colonies

— 1935-36 — Source Lord Hailey African Survey				European			Asiatic & Eurafrian			African		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Basutoland				24	5	0					14	1
Northern Rhodesia				28	8	7					4	6
Nyasaland				18	7	11	2	7	7		1	10
Tanganyika				10	18	2	2	11	4		5	7
Uganda				14	10	8	4	2	11		5	3
Kenya				26	7	5	5	0	0		16	0



[from Statesman's Year Book. Figures are for 1939 or last available year]

# THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE

## The Colonies

There are about sixty-three million people in the British Colonial Empire. They live in fifty-five different dependencies whose combined area is over two million square miles. They include representatives of almost every known race and area, and of many nationalities.

All these people have one important feature in common, however. They look to the United Kingdom Government to determine or approve, if only indirectly, the policy which shapes their future. For it is the essence of a Crown Colony, Protectorate or Mandate that it is not self-governing. There is always a Governor appointed by the Crown, who has at least a power of veto on legislation by a locally chosen body and normally shoulders a large proportion of the direct responsibilities of Government. The Governor is answerable for his policy to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is in his turn responsible to Parliament. In effect, therefore, it is the United Kingdom electorate which is ultimately responsible for the future of the colonies.

The Colonial or Dependent Empire, as it is sometimes called, is not the whole of the British Empire. It represents less than one-fifth of the total area, and only about one-eighth of the total population of the overseas Empire. The British Empire includes, in addition, the Free Commonwealth, in which the Dominions of Australia, Canada, Eire, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa are voluntarily associated with the United Kingdom. Each of these sovereign states, except Eire, once formed part of the British Dependent Empire, but has acquired "dominion status" and assumed complete responsibility for its own affairs of State.

There is no set model for a Dominion, and no defined route to dominion status. The community which reaches this status is free to decide its own articles of imperial association. The Union of South Africa, for example, pursues a native policy very different from that which the United Kingdom insists upon in neighbouring colonial Africa. Eire has chosen to remain neutral in the present war, and the

other Dominions were free to do likewise. Indeed, the only common feature among the British Dominions is their willingness to maintain some form of association with each other and with the United Kingdom, an association which may be as intimate, as binding, and as permanent as each contracting party wills.

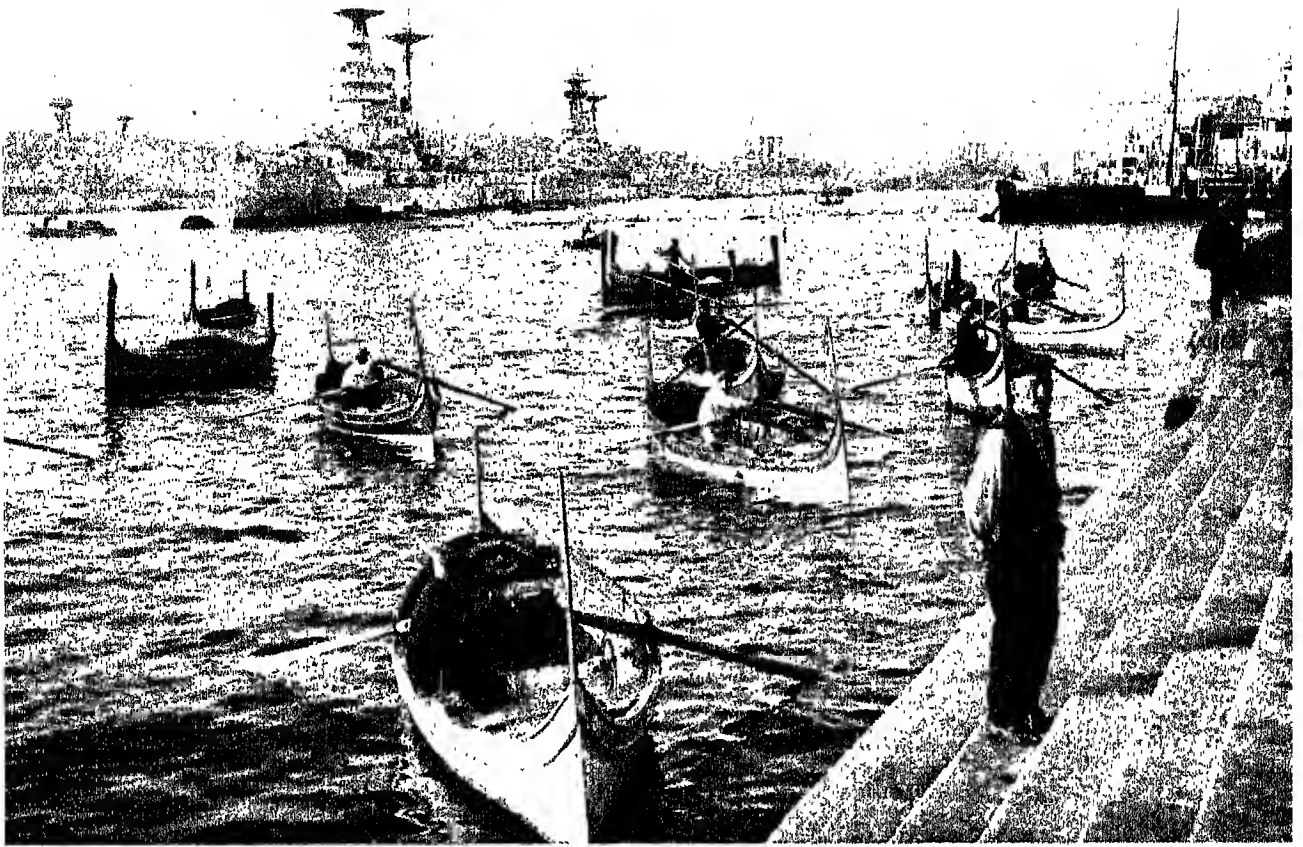
In an intermediate position between the Colonial Empire proper and the Free Commonwealth are certain other territories with which we shall not be directly concerned here. They include Newfoundland, whose dominion status is temporarily in abeyance so long as economic difficulties necessitate a considerable degree of dependence on the United Kingdom; Southern Rhodesia, in which the white settlers have acquired complete responsibility for their own affairs, but not for those of its native inhabitants who are still theoretically under the protection of the United Kingdom Government; India, which has been promised dominion status after the war; and Burma, whose problems are in many ways similar to those of India.

In short, therefore, when we speak in these pages of the British Colonial Empire we shall have in mind primarily the wide range of dependent territories which the United Kingdom Government regards as still too backward to acquire full self-government, and for whose future the Colonial Office (or very occasionally, some other department in Whitehall) is responsible to the United Kingdom Parliament.

The programmes and plans contained in the following pages apply also in the main, to three dependent territories which come within the sphere of the Dominions Office. They are Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. For historical and geographical reasons these territories have been made a responsibility of the United Kingdom High Commissioner to the Union of South Africa, but their future is essentially part of the Colonial problem. In addition there are two colonial territories—the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Anglo-French New Hebrides—for which Britain shares responsibility with Egypt and France respectively. The department responsible for these condominiums is the Foreign Office. With these exceptions, the colonial problem is the responsibility of the Colonial Office. [The Dominion mandates are the responsibility of the relevant Dominion governments.]

The British Free Commonwealth is unique, but the British Colonial Empire is by no means the only one of its kind. The diagram on p. 9





*Malta Harbour.*

shows that there are many Colonial Powers, some of which have dependent empires which rival the British in size or population. The French Colonial Empire far outstrips the British in area, the Dutch overseas possessions, including the densely populated Netherlands East Indies, account for more people. Soviet Russia, although it has no overseas Empire, covers great undeveloped tracts of land which, in the variety and backwardness of their peoples, raise problems of an essentially colonial nature.

The problems of these other dependent empires are broadly similar to those of our own. Indeed, in drawing up plans for the future of the British colonies, we may find that we can both learn from and point a way for the solution of foreign colonial problems.

One of the most striking features of the British Colonial Empire is its variety. It includes land on every continent except Australia, and islands in every ocean. Its people are to be found living in a wide range of climatic and physical conditions, from the bleak Falkland Islands to the damp, hot jungles of Malaya and the arid African desert. They represent innumerable races and

cultures. Spanish, Italian, Greek and Arabic strains flow and mix in the peoples of the British Mediterranean dependencies. There are black men of all kinds from the pure negro living in a remote African village, to the coloured man of the West Indies who is the result of several generations of inter-marriage between black and white. The brown races are fully represented in Ceylon, the East Indies, Fiji, and the Pacific islands. In Hong Kong nearly a million yellow men are British subjects.

Deep divergencies in religious and cultural outlook accompany this variety in physical make-up and environment. In the ancient civilizations of Asia, in Ceylon, Malaya and Hong Kong the religions and customs of the East predominate. There are Buddhists, Confucians, Mohammedans, Hindus and many more. In Africa the tribal priest may also be the local witch doctor and tradition may demand such cruel practices as the killing of twins. In the West Indies, the union of African ex-slave and English settler has formed the basis of a new culture, whose difficulties include a high illegitimacy rate and the wide prevalence of such



crimes as the theft of growing crops.

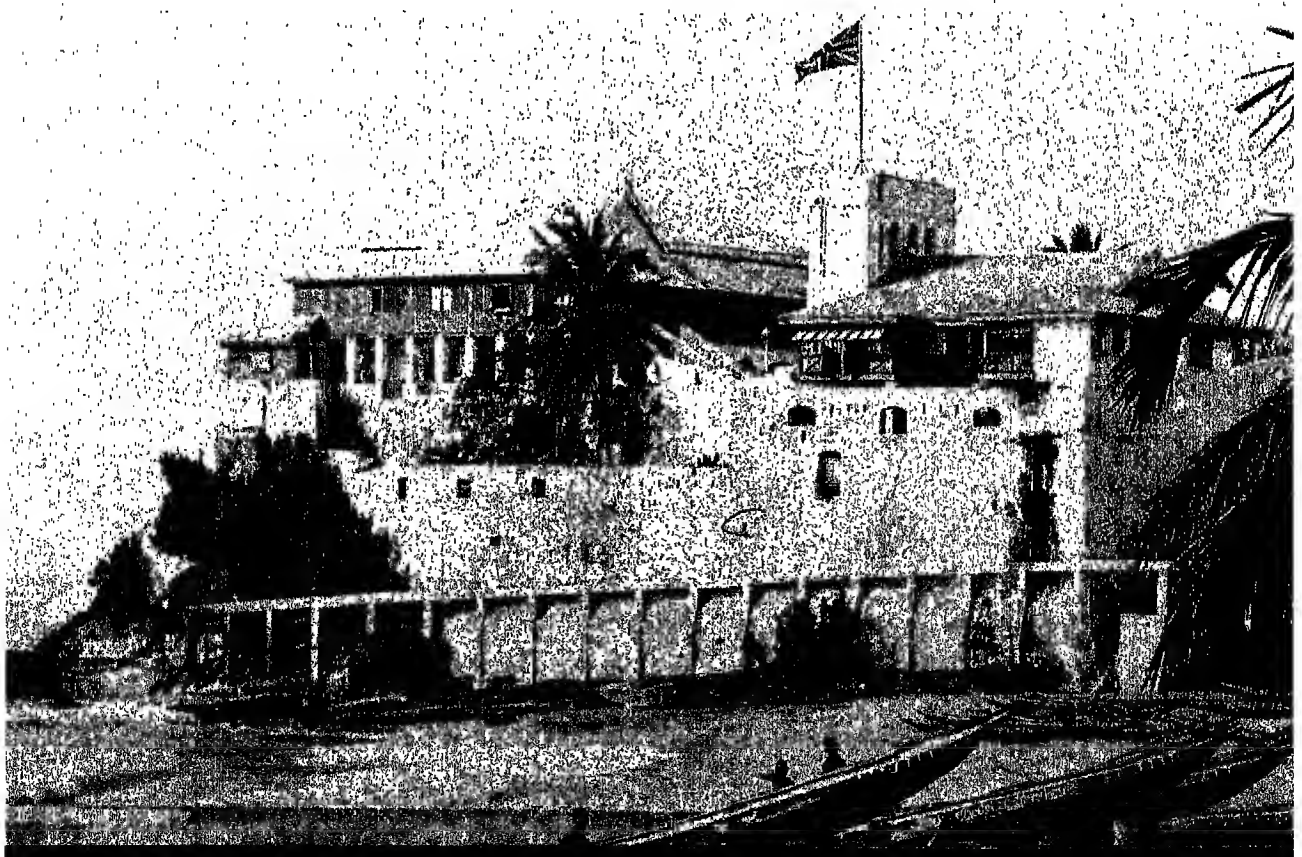
In the original sense of the term, a colony was an area of colonization, a territory settled by pioneers from the mother country. In North America, for example, the Indian tribes were gradually driven back by the advancing frontiers of the white man and their lands taken over. In Cape Colony, the white man systematically expropriated the natives. Although British colonists might have to absorb or live side by side with a native population, the colony was essentially an off-shoot from the parent country.

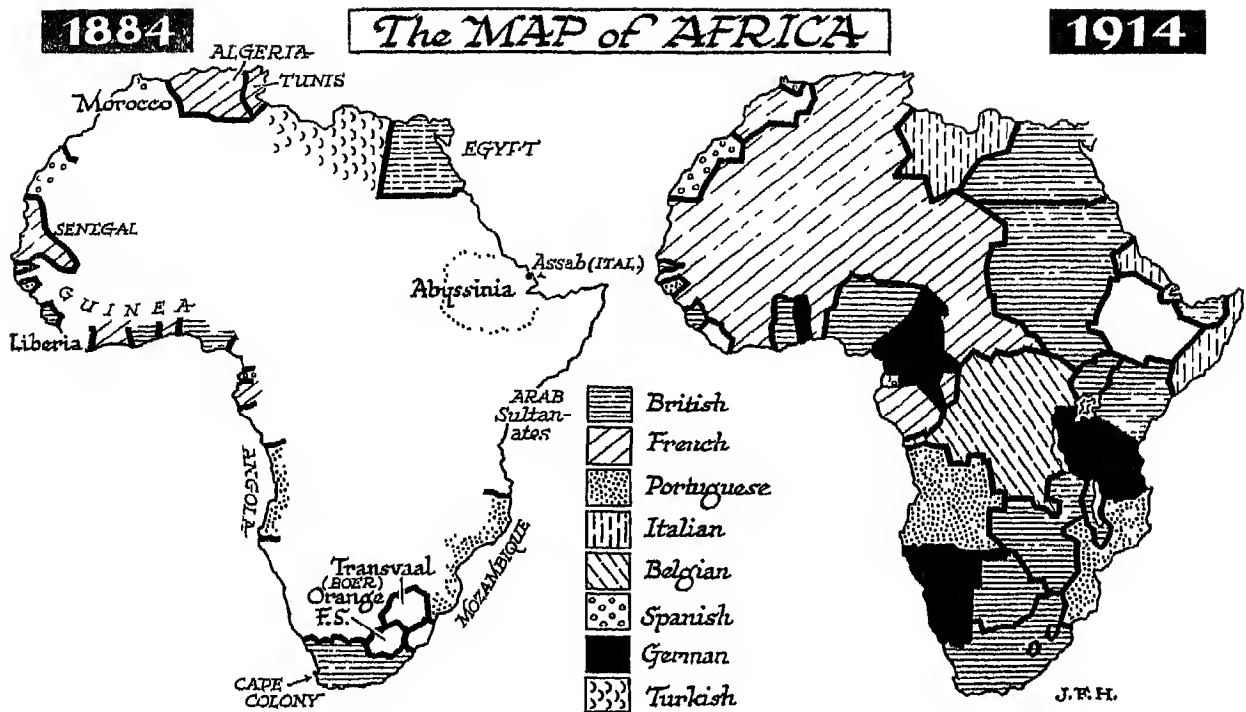
To-day a British colony might be almost anything but an area peopled predominantly by settlers from Great Britain. Out of the forty-two million people of British Colonial Africa, under sixty thousand are white. In the West Indies, which were once colonies in the old sense, the Africans imported to labour on the white colonists' plantations now form the broad base of society and conduct an important peasant agriculture. The strategic colonies like Gibraltar, Malta, Aden and Hong Kong have a small floating population, largely of military, naval, administrative, and trading personnel from the United Kingdom, but it is the local people who

are the true residents or nationals. In Palestine the Jewish settlers come from many countries, but even here the native Arabs are in the majority.

Clearly the colonial problem is not one but a host of problems, and their number is further multiplied by the existence of so many cases in which different races live side by side and work in an uneasy harness. From the straightforward mutual antagonism of Germans and British in Tanganyika to the complexities of the colour-bar, which sets white men against black, yellow against brown, and all races against the mixed or coloured man, there is every variety of national, racial, and cultural conflict. Islam and Christianity may divide a single race or community. Catholic and Protestant missionaries may find themselves bickering over their flocks. So great has been the immigration of alien peoples into Malaya that they outnumber the indigenous peoples. In Palestine the Arabs oppose violently any further Jewish immigration into the ancient Jewish homeland. Usually it is a white administrator, himself a stranger, who has the responsibility of straightening out these tangled webs of conflict and mistrust which too often characterise colonial domestic problems.

*Christiansborg Castle, the Governor's residence on the Gold Coast.*





## Empire in the Making

The acquisition of control over these many and scattered communities has been a long, gradual process. There was little that could be called planned expansion. Trader and missionary, pirate and soldier, administrator and tribal chief, explorer and settler—all played their part in the process.

In the fifteenth century, when the great voyages of discovery were made which opened up the new world, merchant adventurers went out from England in search of trade. At first they sought the treasures of the East. Columbus was looking for India when he discovered the North American continent. The islands in the Caribbean were called the West Indies because they were believed to lie off the land mass of India. Then the gold and silver mines of Central and South America and the large enslavable population of West Africa revealed new sources of profit. Merchants still searched for a short-cut to the East in Elizabethan times but interest centred on the lucrative trade routes from West Africa to Central America and back again to Europe.

Merchants were not colonists, however. All they wanted in a territory was sufficient political supremacy or even merely influence to enable them to trade with it safely. Sometimes they landed in force and seized their own cargo of slaves on some lonely African shore. More often they came to a business agreement with a local chief to supply them with slaves, gold or ivory in return for, say, English cloth. The English crown intervened only where its own interests in a venture gave it a profit motive or where the activities of a rival commercial power threatened the lives or livelihood of English merchants. The great chartered companies, like the East India Company which received its charter from Queen Elizabeth, maintained their own armies and fighting fleets and fought their own wars.

Colonization in the sense of settlement became important as soon as the voyages of the merchants had familiarised the European sailor with the coasts and islands of America and Africa, and when the struggle of Protestant and Catholic created a class of political and religious



*Africa Old and New.* ABOVE — Tribal dancers of the Sudan.

BELOW — The modern harbour at Sekondi (Gold Coast)



refugees. The Pilgrim Fathers who settled in New England or the English Catholics who colonised some of the Southern states preferred to risk life in a wilderness rather than to live under an unsympathetic government. But this was not the only reason for early settlement. Other men moved to the colonies because there were fortunes to be made by putting slave labour to work on West Indian sugar plantations, or because there was more freedom in the new lands, or because unemployment had begun to threaten even the willing worker in England, or because they were in financial, social or political difficulties. Later still, convicts were drafted in batches to Georgia and Australia.

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the English government itself was taking a different attitude to colonies. Close political control appeared desirable for strategic reasons. In a period when all nations were endeavouring to further the interests of their own merchants at the expense of foreigners it was always useful to extend one's own national influence.

Holland was Britain's chief rival for the world's carrying trade in the seventeenth century and the wars of that period reflected bitter conflicts in the colonial field. The war of Jenkins' Ear which had as its pretext the cutting off of a British seaman's ear by the Spaniards, was only one incident of the long battle for trading rights in Central and South America. The campaigns of Clive in India followed many years of intrigue and counter-intrigue by French and British trading interests in the courts of India's princes.

Secondly, the colonies provided a store of men and material in case of war. Emigration was regarded as a depletion of the national war reserve, unless the emigrants remained the King's subjects.

Thirdly, colonies were regarded as economically tributary to the mother country and an outlet for its goods. This was a first principle of the theory of mercantilism. In accordance with its principles the colonies were administered primarily in the interests of the mother country and trade was diverted and restricted to what were considered appropriate channels. Economists of the mercantilist school lent their support to the old colonial system by advocating restriction of trade, in order to protect British and colonial industries from foreign competition and

to prevent colonies from embarking on ventures which would cause competition between each other or between colonies and the mother country.

The keynote of the mercantilist doctrine was restriction, and no system based on restriction could have satisfied the expanding colonial communities. It was natural that as soon as the colonists grew sufficiently in numbers and security to defy the home government they should do so. British statesmanship was then unequal to the problem and the main body of settlers in America broke away to form the United States.

But by the late eighteenth century Great Britain had so far outstripped all her competitors in industry and commerce, and had such a sure guarantee of military security in her island position and the efficiency of her navy that the old colonial doctrines were losing their patency. The new doctrine of complete freedom of trade, which was predominant by the mid-nineteenth century, meant a slackening of central political control throughout the empire and at the same time a reluctance on the part of the British Government to extend its territorial responsibilities. During most of the nineteenth century British politicians regarded the colonies as "millstones round our necks", and missionaries and traders were the agents of imperialism. They it was who pressed a reluctant government to acquire more and more of the unclaimed African hinterland in order that slavery and tribal warfare might be effectively extinguished, and in order that other European nations, who might want to close the "open door" to trade which Britain maintained, might be forestalled. In Nigeria, for example, a group of British trading interests stationed at the mouth of the Niger pursued the tasks of signing treaties with native chiefs, of suppressing tribal wars, and of racing French and German traders in the acquisition of fresh concessions and fresh territories. This they did first separately, and later jointly after having been amalgamated and receiving a charter as the Royal Niger Company. It was not until 1898, when the Crown revoked the Charter and took over the responsibilities, that the Company's last great soldier and administrator, later Lord Lugard, became a servant of the Imperial Government.

During the nineteenth century the white

settler communities in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand were steadily increasing in power and freedom to govern themselves. South Africa, after a stormy period of conflict and war, was at last given full rights of self-government. In the first world war Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa participated as equals, but it was not until after the war that the conception of a Free Commonwealth was given legal Confirmation by the Statute of Westminster in 1931.\*

The Empire that was still dependent after Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand had achieved dominion status was very different in complexion from the old British Empire. The old Empire consisted largely of areas settled by Europeans with a few spheres of influence in predominantly native territories and a string of island or outpost dependencies protecting the imperial lines of communications and providing supply bases for the trade routes. The island dependencies still link the Empire of to-day, but the old settler colonies have been transformed into independent states as in the Dominions, or into new communities as in the West Indies. The merchants' spheres of influence have become areas of British Colonial rule. The man from Great Britain is in a sense a stranger in the colonial Empire, and the colonial problem is primarily one of the impact of the European brand of civilization on such very different social frameworks as are characteristic of the primitive cultures of Africa or the alien civilizations of the East.

\*The Statute of Westminster recognised the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, although united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

### Problems of Empire

The colonial problem, so far as it is possible to think of it as a single problem, arises out of the backwardness of the colonies. It can be regarded from three main aspects, each raising its own set of problems.

1. First of all, there is the international aspect. Some of the countries which had neither the power nor the opportunity to join in the scramble for colonies before all available territory was claimed have a sense of grievance against the colonial powers. They demand "a place in the sun" for their surplus population, a share in the control of the raw material

resources existing in tropical and sub-tropical regions, an opportunity to exploit native markets, the right to garrison areas of special strategic importance to themselves, and even the privilege of taking their own brand of culture to primitive peoples. The actual demands vary with the time of making the claim and the circumstances of the claimant. But whatever grievance is uppermost at any particular time it contains the seeds of war.

In their crudest form, these demands of the "have-not" powers, by ignoring the interests of colonial peoples themselves, represent an attitude of mind which belongs to the era of conquest and pillage. Some of the issues raised by the international aspects of the colonial problem, however, are still fundamental on a more civilized interpretation of the problem. It is still necessary to decide how the responsibilities for and the gains from administration of backward areas should be apportioned among the colonial powers, the colonial peoples and the world at large. It is still necessary to work out systems of international collaboration, in those areas where there are problems which cut across political boundaries—problems of transport, for example, or of soil conservation, or of economic development.

2. The second aspect of the colonial problem follows naturally on the first. It is not enough to decide which among the more fortunate or more advanced nations should control the colonies and administer their resources. It is still necessary to face the local questions of government, the constitutional aspect of the colonial problem. What degree of responsibility for their own administration should be granted to colonial peoples? What present and future forms of government are most suited to the needs of each particular colony? If, for example, it is decided to introduce democratic forms of government, should an illiterate majority be given the vote? If not, can a more advanced and articulate minority of Europeans be allowed to exercise full powers of citizenship, including powers which affect a native majority? How far is the racial or religious discrimination which inevitably tends to spring up in plural communities to be permitted to exist?

3. The backwardness of the colonies is not simply a political problem, however. They are in even more urgent need of help in developing

their economic, cultural and moral resources. Here again the problem is in part one of responsibility. Does the controlling power's responsibility end when it has made those investments which will bring in a commercial rate of return? Or should it open up all available resources? And if so, for whose benefit should the resources be developed? How much should the British taxpayer be called upon to pay to raise the standard of living of colonial peoples?

This is the welfare aspect of the colonial problem. It includes the practical questions of developing colonial resources and of raising native standards of living. For the poverty of the native reflects the poverty of his country. His ignorance and his political backwardness arise out of its natural poverty and the many pests to which it is subject, and, above all,

to his own inadequate equipment for dealing with these problems. It will require all of European ingenuity and scientific knowledge to wrest from tropical Africa a real income for the working classes even remotely comparable to that enjoyed by the unemployed man in Britain. How are the primitive people of the colonies to be equipped to deal with the crippling problems of drought, disease, hurricanes, soil poverty, ignorance, and social disintegration?

These are not new problems, although realization of the significance of some of them may be a recent development. In some directions considerable progress has been made towards their solution. In others there has been little advance. Before going on to discuss the solutions which are being put forward to-day, it will be useful to see what progress has already been made.

## International Responsibility for the Colonies

In the early days of colonization the right of the larger powers to seize and to hold colonial territory was not disputed. As new lands were opened up, the first nation to raise its flag in the new territory was the owner in law as well as in practice. Any change of ownership as a result of war was legalised by the subsequent peace treaty. Other nations might plot and plan to reverse such decisions by force but they did not call into question the existing owners' right in principle to do whatever they liked with the areas under their control.

It was during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century that the nations began to adopt a moral attitude in colonial policy. Great Britain campaigned against the slave trade in the diplomatic arenas of Europe as well as on the African Coasts and the Indian ocean. Her advocacy of Free Trade had a strongly moral flavour, although it was clear that a country in such a strong trading position had much to gain from the universal acceptance of a policy which would open up colonial areas to international commercial competition. In later years the world-wide outburst of indignation against such incidents as the ill-treatment of natives in the Belgian Congo and against British concentration camps in the Boer war provided evidence of the growth of a sense of international moral respon-

sibility for the colonies. Colonial powers were no longer regarded as morally free to pursue their respective colonial policies without considering the interests of the colonial peoples themselves or the point of view of other countries.

At the end of the last war, with the inauguration of the Mandate system, this new attitude found formal expression. Instead of seizing and dividing between them the ex-German colonies without reference to any other principle than success in war, the victorious powers accepted from the newly constituted League of Nations mandates for those territories of which their troops were in occupation. That is to say, they took over the administration of these territories not as their share in the spoils of war but as a trust, subject to certain general regulations and under the supervision of a commission of the League of Nations. The regulations which the mandatory powers voluntarily accepted included undertakings to give the same treatment to the nationals of other members of the League as to its own nationals, to suppress the slave trade and the liquor traffic, to guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, to frame land legislation in the interests of the native population, and to prohibit forced labour except for certain essential public works and services. Finally, it undertook not to fortify mandated territory or to recruit

therein troops for service outside.

Most of these regulations apply to all mandates, but the wide differences in the type of problem raised by each case made some variation of practice necessary. Hence three distinct classes of mandates were set up. "A" mandates were those which, like Iraq (now independent) and Palestine, were within measurable distance of being able to assume complete responsibility for their own affairs. "B" and "C" mandates were alike in that their coming of age was clearly a more distant possibility, but "C" mandates were intended to be administered as an integral part of the mandatory power's own territories. Hence some relaxation of the rules governing land policy, forced labour and equality of privileges to nationals and non-nationals was permitted in the case of "C" mandates, of which South West Africa is an important example. In general, however, all mandates were intended to be administered for the well-being and development of their native inhabitants.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, to which the mandatory power was required to submit an annual report together with all other reports and copies of legislation affecting the mandate, sat twice a year to examine the reports and to hear any petitions from the colonial people concerned. It had no executive or inspecting powers. Its influence was exercised through its moral judgments and its sole coercive weapon was the publicity which it could give to these judgments.

The international recognition of principles such as these marks a substantial advance in colonial policy. The League of Nations has no machinery for recalling a mandate or for taking punitive action as a result of misgovernment of a mandated territory: nevertheless, by accepting a mandate to administer the territory as a sacred trust the mandatory power recognises in theory that its colonial policy should be framed primarily in the interests of colonial peoples and in part at least in the interests of other members of the League, who have the right to scrutinize and criticise that policy.

It would be a mistake to over-emphasize the strength or the value of the mandates system. It is limited to the colonies of ex-enemy powers. The fact that the mandatory powers accepted the mandate of the areas which their armies were holding suggests that the new methods of acquiring colonial territory were not so widely different from the old. It is true that the mandate regulations have prevented France, for example, from extending to her mandates the exclusive economic policy which she pursues in her other dependencies. Usually, however, the mandatory powers have pursued very much the same sort of policy in their mandates as in their other colonies, although perhaps with a greater degree of self-consciousness in the administration. Equality of treatment towards the nationals of all League members does not involve equality of opportunity to foreigners in the administrative or technical services of the mandated territory.

Not is the concept of international trusteeship implied in the mandates system universally accepted, as can be seen by the claims for colonial territory made by Germany, Italy and Japan in the past two decades. Strategic motives for the acquisition of colonial territory have perhaps been less publicly expressed than they once would have been, but they are still extremely important, as will at once be realized if we consider what the course of this war would have been in the Mediterranean if Gibraltar had been restored to Spain or Malta had been granted complete independence. The "have-not powers" contended that they had at least as much right as the "have powers" to a safety-valve for their surplus population or a conveniently controlled channel for their capital. It is significant that Germany and Italy, who have vociferously demanded an outlet for their surplus population, have simultaneously pursued policies designed to raise their rate of population-increase. It is significant also that the "have-not powers" do not demand an extension of the mandates system to provide a more effective means of ensuring equality of international opportunity. Their claim is for a share-out of colonial territory as such among what they call "the leading civilized nations."

When ownership of colonial territory can thus become a question of national prestige, it is clear that the "might is right" theory of colonial responsibilities is far from being obsolete. Indeed a good deal of importance attaches in Germany, and to a certain extent in South Africa, to a more sophisticated form of the theory—the conception of the "master race" whose right and duty it is to govern "inferior" races. There is no scientific basis, however, for the doctrine of the inherent mental superiority of certain races. In "An African Survey", Lord Hailey reviews the principal investigations made into the relative mental capacities of the negro and white races. He concludes that "they do not of themselves afford evidence in support of the assumption that the mental capacity of Africans is inferior to that of Europeans, even judged by standards primarily devised with reference to European conditions."

As far as British colonial policy is concerned, however, it can be said that the mandates system helped to express, if it did not help to mould, certain cardinal principles of policy. The



war against the liquor traffic and the slave trade had been waged long before 1919. So far from fortifying the colonies and recruiting colonial troops for service overseas, Britain has in peacetime confined her garrison to a few strategic points and has raised only a bare minimum of colonial recruits. Before the war no United Kingdom regiment was stationed anywhere in British Colonial Africa. From a population of over sixty million, only forty-three thousand permanent colonial soldiers were enlisted locally. This is in striking contrast to the French policy which involved the raising of three divisions of the French army in Algeria alone. In effect, therefore, it is the United Kingdom taxpayer who bears the cost of colonial defence.

Although the complete Free Trade ideal has been abandoned, trade is less restricted in the British Colonial Empire than in the dependencies of any other country. There is comparatively little direct discrimination against foreign commercial interests. The existence of English as the official language, of official contracts, and of a British administration are of undoubted value in smoothing the way for British trade and for British investment in the colonies. But in spite of these advantages, and of the system of Imperial Preference, Britain does not by any means monopolize colonial trade. She took only about a third of the colonies' exports before the war and supplied only about a quarter of their imports. In contrast, the French colonies sent about two-thirds of their exports to, and took more than half of their imports from France in 1937.

Apart from the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations there has been no generalised machinery for international colonial co-operation. But there has been a great deal of successful co-operation on an *ad hoc* basis by particular nations and on specific problems

in the colonial field. As early as 1888 the Central African colonies signed the Congo Basin Treaties, establishing a free trade block from the Nile to the Zambesi. After the last war the Economic Section of the League did much useful work in negotiating commercial agreements, and the International Labour Office in drawing up labour conventions for the Colonies. In the Sudan and in the New Hebrides, practical experiments in international administration have shown in the one case how successful and in the latter case how ineffective an intimate co-operation can prove.

The present war has stimulated experiments in co-operation on a regional basis. The Middle East Supply Council, for example, includes within its scope various colonies—the Sudan, Palestine, Transjordan, Cyprus, Eritrea, British Somaliland, Syria-Lebanon, Malta, and the British East African dependencies—as well as independent nations such as Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Persia and Turkey. The Council itself is an Anglo-American body and its interests cover the whole social and economic organisation of its area.

The Caribbean Commission is another Anglo-American body, with two chairmen—one British and one American. It advises the two governments on problems of labour, agriculture, housing, health, education, social welfare, finance, and related subjects and is instructed to "bear in mind" the desirability of close co-operation in social and economic matters between all regions adjacent to the Caribbean. In this case almost all the territories are colonies.

The war has also stimulated co-operation between British, French, Belgian and American interests in West Africa as well as a certain degree of co-ordination for the British colonies in the region and in other parts of Africa.

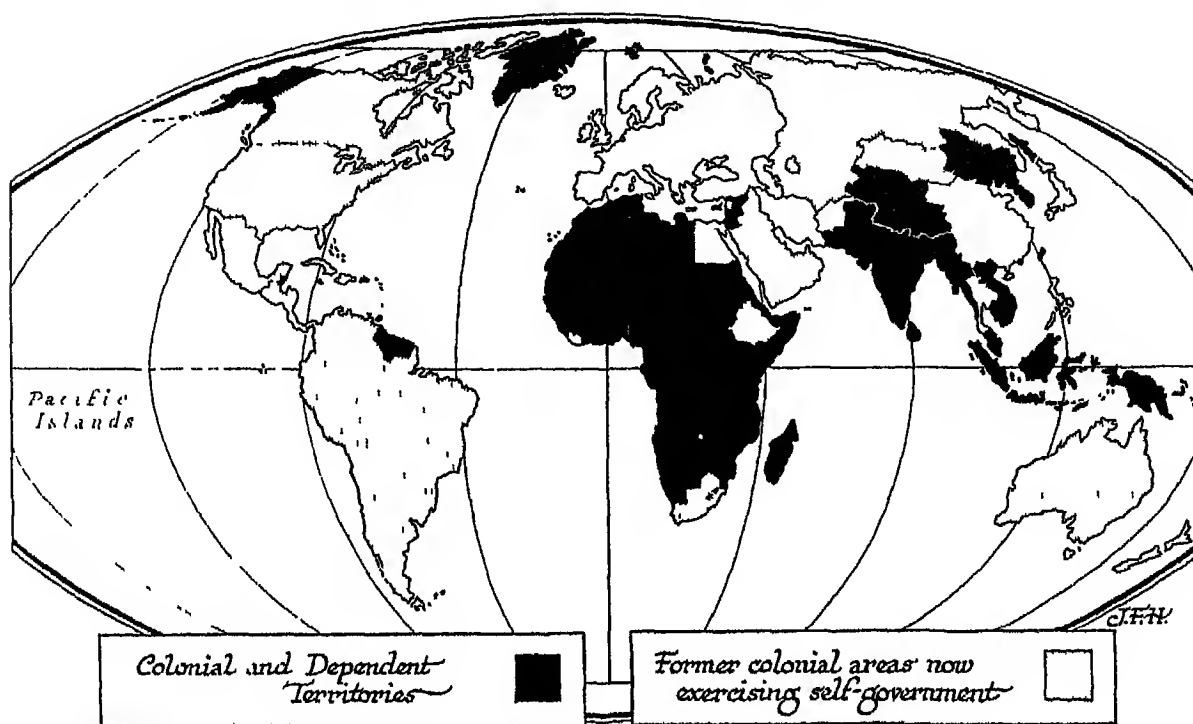
## The Constitutional Development of the Colonies

WHEN colonies were predominantly areas of white settlement it was inevitable that these transplanted Europeans should want to construct political institutions of the kind to which they had become accustomed in their homeland. The colonists of New England led the revolt against a United Kingdom government in which they were not represented and with the rest of the

American colonists created their own self-governing institutions. That this first colonial agitation for self-government should have led to war, and to the subsequent severance of all bonds between the rebels and the mother country, was due in part at least to the inability of the home government to adjust itself to an inevitable development. Later governments



# World Colonial Development, 1944



found the solution to this constitutional problem in a gradual extension of the degree of self-government permitted to white settlers.

In the remainder of British North America, for example, the nineteenth century saw the welding of the isolated provincial communities into a single confederation. The French and British elements, each strongly self-conscious in respect of its religious, national and legal traditions, succeeded in assuming co-operatively the tasks of responsible self-government. The formation of the Dominion of Canada was an achievement to which the statesmanship and vision of British and colonial politicians, the construction of an inter-colonial railway and the pressure of population all played their part. The process was summed up thus in Canada's volume of the Cambridge History of the British Empire, "Almost alone among great nation-builders, the Fathers of Confederation shed no blood, squandered no resources, and bequeathed to the future no heritage of hate, but rather pointed mankind forward to an era of wider unions, and more assured peace and prosperity."

By 1921 all the more important areas of white settlement in the British Empire - Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa - were full partners with the United Kingdom in the Free Commonwealth.

To-day it is the constitutional goal of every British colonial people to achieve the degree of self-government implied in dominion status, whether alone or in combination with neighbouring peoples. It is the avowed policy of the United Kingdom government to guide them to that goal.

But for most colonial peoples the road to full dominion status is far from being clearly defined. It is one thing, as in the past with Canada and the other Dominions, to hand over the responsibilities of administration to a community composed of colonists accustomed to the political traditions and practice of British democracy. It is quite another thing to introduce the political institutions of democracy to a people of widely different—perhaps very primitive—culture and to introduce them so effectively that the people concerned is able to take over the organization



*A District officer hearing complaints and cases on his rounds (KENYA).*

and run it without assistance. Even for a people educated according to British standards this would be a difficult enough task. The great majority of the inhabitants of the British colonial dependencies are still completely illiterate and their institutions are entirely different from those of the West. A true synthesis of British and native ideals demands British administrators and teachers of exceptionally keen understanding of the native outlook. In short, the education of native peoples to the level at which they can not only learn from the fund of Western political experience, but can make their own contribution to it, will test both teachers and pupils.

The ability of colonial peoples to assume the responsibility of self-government is not the only factor in the situation. There are other and more complex problems arising from the existence of plural communities. The white inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia or of the other African colonies are as capable of governing themselves as are the people of the Dominions and of Great Britain. In granting full dominion status to Southern Rhodesia, however, the United King-

dom government would be surrendering its last remaining responsibility for the welfare of Southern Rhodesia's inarticulate and unrepresented native population. Experience of colour-bar, land, and other legislation in the Union of South Africa, in Kenya, in Northern Rhodesia, and indeed in Southern Rhodesia itself, has shown how contrary the native policy of a white settler government may be to that of the United Kingdom.

The same sort of problem arises in many different guises. In Palestine the mutual antagonism of Arab and Jew showed itself from the outset in riots and murders which have postponed the granting of independence to this "A" mandate. In Malta certain elements of the Roman Catholic church brought religious pressure on the voters in such a way that the elections were turned into a farce. In Malaya immigrant labourers from China and India outnumber the Malays and raise important economic and social problems for the administrators of the territory.

It is clear that the introduction to primitive

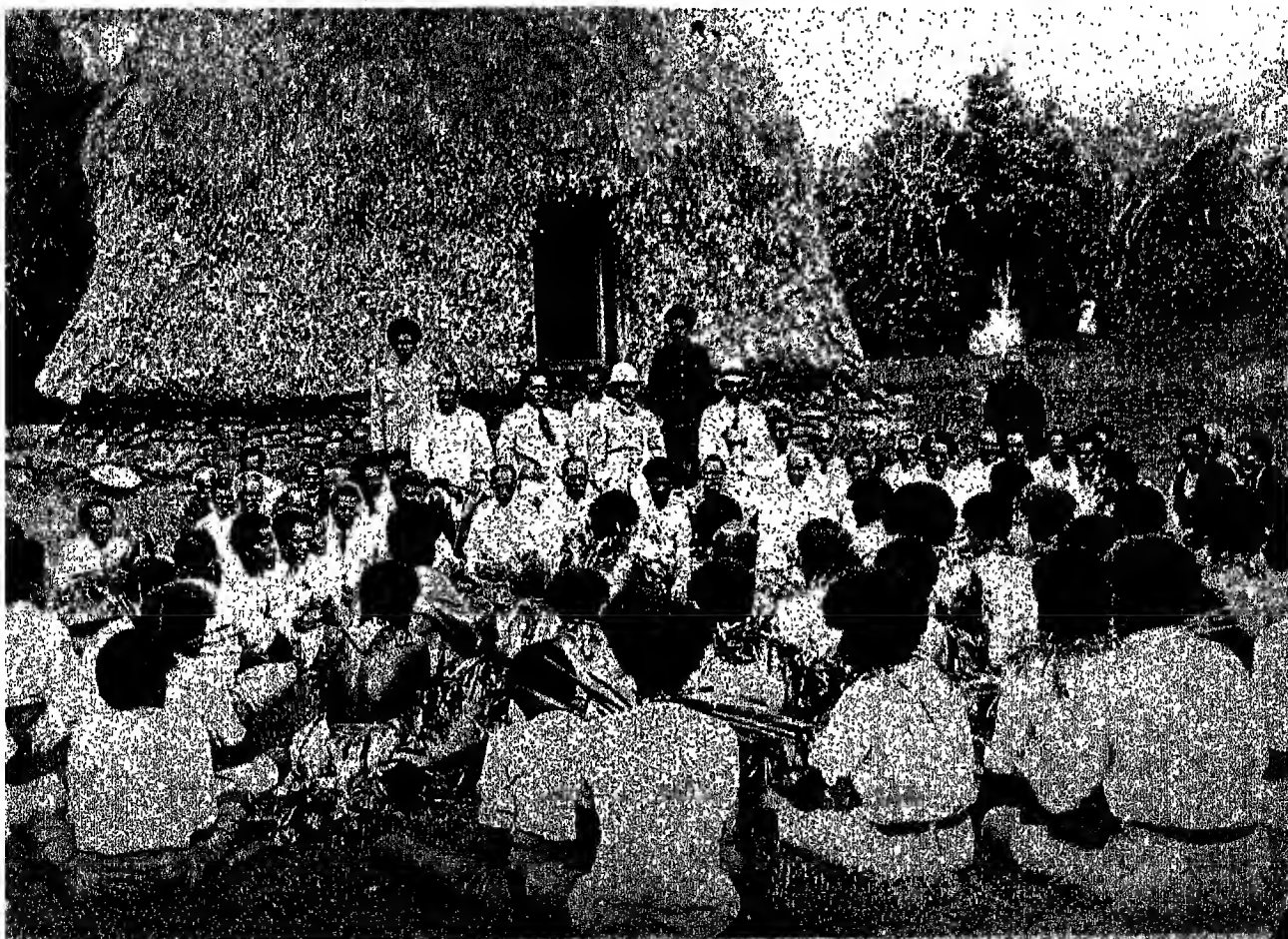
plural communities of democratic institutions on the British model, institutions involving majority rule, for example, presents considerable practical difficulties. The problem, however, is not one of forcing the indigenous peoples into a ready-made mould. To most British administrators—exemplified notably in Lord Lugard—the problem presents itself as one of teaching and stimulating the native peoples to evolve their own pattern of democracy on the basis of their own traditions and ideals. In effect, the predominant British policy is one which seeks “to direct the energies of the native to the preservation of his own institutions,” as a basis on which quite novel developments may be erected. This is the basis on which was built the famous policy of Indirect Rule, a policy which seeks to introduce further instalments of self-government to primitive communities on the basis of their traditional institutions.

The French have a different way of dealing with the problem. Their object is to assimilate the native peoples into the French way of life. The first stage in this assimilation programme is

the selection and training of a native élite which, if it is not yet ready to assume the full rights and responsibilities of French citizenship, is ready to be associated with the European administrators in a variety of local responsibilities. Thus while the British endeavour to rule as far as possible through, and in any case, in full consultation with, the tribal chiefs and the native tribal institutions the French administrator tends to be remote from the illiterate native and his traditions and to rule through a semi-Europeanised, selected élite.

The Dutch have yet another approach to the problem. Until recently they have concentrated their attention on producing an efficient government for the people of their East Indian domains, a government which is able to deal adequately with the material needs of those teeming islands. Since an increase in local self-government involves the use of inexperienced administrators it probably involves also a reduction in administrative efficiency. Although recent attempts have been made to increase the share of the Netherland East Indians in their own

*A native parliament in session, presided over by the British Commissioner for native affairs (FIJI ISLANDS)*



government, the result of the Dutch policy has been the establishment of an efficient benevolent bureaucracy largely staffed from Holland. This has succeeded in providing a high standard of social services, but without developing local political potentialities. At the other end of the scale, however, in the villages, the natives enjoy a very complete democracy. The village headman is chosen by the people, and on important decisions the whole village is consulted. Attempts to introduce democratic institutions on the western model into the villages have in some cases failed through the vigorous opposition of the villagers themselves.

The British Colonies have often been described as a constitutional procession, each advancing in its own way and at its own pace towards the goal of responsible self-government to which it is the avowed policy of the United Kingdom Government to guide them. The position of each colony in the procession is determined by a number of factors in its political framework. The first is the composition of its central government

and the ability of the native population to influence or vary that composition. Normally, there are three main elements in the central government of a colony—the executive, the legislative and the official elements. They correspond broadly to our cabinet, parliament and civil service. The executive usually consists of a governor appointed from London and a council which includes the heads of the civil service departments. The legislature where it exists may be a council or assembly and its members may be elected, nominated, or official. In the majority of cases, the legislature is of mixed composition and includes members elected by the local population or by a section of it; members nominated by the Governor because they have such special qualifications as an intimate knowledge of the territory, or an ability to represent certain interests; and high officials in the civil service of the particular colony, who are generally present in an *ex-officio* capacity.

Theoretically, a colony is at the last stage in the procession when its legislature consists

*Census-taking in Jamaica, to prepare for the democratic elections.*





*Lord Swinton with one of the first African Assistant District Commissioners to be appointed.*

entirely of elected members, when voting rights are extended to all adult inhabitants, and when the executive (with the exception of the Governor) is chosen from among the members of the legislature. When the Governor loses all powers of overriding the locally elected legislature the equivalent of dominion status has been reached.

Ceylon heads the constitutional procession to-day with a State Council nearly 80 per cent of whose members are elected on a generalised adult suffrage. The State Council has executive as well as legislative powers, and forms a standing Executive Committee which contains seven ministers of State elected from the members of the Council and the three Officials of State who are *ex-officio* members of the Council. At the other end of the procession come territories like Basutoland, a High Commission Territory, where there is no legislature and no unofficial members of the executive. A Resident Commissioner exercises legislative powers by proclamation and governs through the tribal chiefs.

Some progress towards self-government has been made in several colonies even under war conditions. In 1943 a new constitution was approved for Jamaica which involved substantial increases in its powers of self-government and which brought it to the front of the constitutional succession. It is to have an elected House of Assembly, a nominated Legislative Council, and an Executive Committee of which half are elected, 20 per cent nominated and 30 per cent official. Malta has been promised a post-war restoration of the rights of self-government which were taken away when religious conflicts disturbed the elections in 1930. A recent amendment in the constitution of British Guiana reduced the number of official members in favour of both nominated and elected members, the latter now being in the majority. Similar advances have occurred in Trinidad. In Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, Africans are now admitted to the Executive Council, which has hitherto consisted only of officials who were senior members of the civil service.



In territories where there is no elected legislature, or where the electors constitute a small proportion only of the population, progress in self-government must be gauged by reference to the extent of native participation in local government and in the colonial civil service. In many parts of tropical Africa the British have developed the system of Indirect Rule as a means of introducing further measures of self-government to the primitive communities under British Rule. The essence of this system, which is an important feature of the policy of preserving and developing native institutions, is to employ the local rulers, whether the tribal chief and his council of elders or the powerful emir and his officials, as responsible agents of the British Government and to give them as much judicial and executive powers within their localised sphere, as possible.

The Chief governs with the advice on the one hand of such tribal council as exists and, on the other hand, of the European District Officer, who makes periodical visits to the area for the purpose of collecting central government taxes and of hearing cases which involve serious crime. This system, of which Lord Lugard was the chief originator, makes the tribal chief in effect a two-way channel of contact between the British administrations and the native population. When it becomes necessary, for example, to introduce a new line of policy or to create a new administrative precedent, the chief is in a position to explain tribal custom to the District Officer and the reasons for and implications of British policy to the villagers. In some areas, in Northern Rhodesia for example, the Central Government allows the local authorities to administer a certain percentage of the native tax collected from their area. The experience of handling their own funds is a valuable training in self-government. In Nigeria the further step has recently been taken of appointing African supervisors to audit the accounts of the Native Treasuries. In many areas, attempts are being made to democratize the Native Administrations by making it possible for young men other than the Chiefs and Elders to be appointed.

In the urban districts of African territories the population is not tied to tribal custom and is often ready and eager for some sort of elected council on the European model. Town councils consisting partly of nominated and partly of

official members exist in many West African towns, but in Kumasi on the Gold Coast the step has recently been taken of setting up a town council, half of whom are elected on a franchise which is extended to all adult residents of at least six months standing. A similar advance is planned for another Gold Coast town, Accra.

Progress in the association of natives with the local administration is also a variable factor from colony to colony. The Commission appointed to enquire into the financial and economic position of Northern Rhodesia, for example, reported in 1938 "how few posts above the menial grades are filled by Africans." In West Africa, on the other hand, advances have already been made in the recruitment of Africans for the administrative grades of the Civil Service. In the Gold Coast a Committee has been appointed to select and interview African candidates for the Administrative Service. By July, 1942, two Africans had been appointed to cadetships. The British Africans have still far to go, however, before they enjoy the equality of opportunity which enabled the West Indian negro Eboué to reach the rank of Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa.

Other aspects of their community life for which colonial people might assume the responsibility at an early stage, are organisations of producers and of labourers. Here again the practical problem for the British administration seems to be one of teaching the native how to evolve his own institutions on the basis both of European experience in such organisation and of local initiative. Experienced Trade Unionists have recently been appointed as Labour Officers in Trinidad, the Gold Coast, Palestine, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. A recent Colonial Office publication on Labour Supervision reports that Trade Union legislation has been enacted in thirty-three colonies, and colonial governments have been asked to assist in the development of and to encourage local Trade Unions. Co-operative Societies are also being encouraged, sometimes with considerable success, especially in peasant communities.

Taking the Colonial Empire as a whole, therefore, there are signs of progress both in admitting colonial peoples to a greater share in their own government and in training them for further responsibilities. The route to the full



*Preparing Fou-fou on the Gold Coast, where it is the staple food.*

self-government of dominion status is ill-defined, however. Many of the colonies are for reasons of size, or of geographical or economic circumstances, not likely to attain dominion status in an individual capacity. Various forms of union or association within the Colonial Empire have been officially discussed. Before the war a number of Government commissions were appointed to investigate the possibilities of, and the need for, closer union in certain colonial areas. East Africa has had a Governors' Conference for

some time now

Since the war, of course, there has been an increasing degree of co-ordination of regional effort, although primarily for war purposes. Lord Swinton was appointed as Resident Minister of State in West Africa, for example, to co-ordinate the activities of the four West African territories. The appointment of Mr. N. F. Hall as Development Adviser to the West African Governors is a further example of regional co-ordination.



*Students of Uyo School, building a miniature house by the actual processes used by builders (NIGERIA).*

## Welfare in the Colonies

THE third main aspect of the colonial problem is the welfare aspect, the problem of the standard of life of colonial peoples. In no colony does the local population enjoy a standard of life nearly as high as that of the working classes in Britain. In some areas it is so low as to be of an entirely different order. It is not easy to obtain a clear picture of actual standards, partly because they vary quantitatively so much between one colony and another and partly because the differences in the purchasing power of money and in the goods and services available involve such a wide qualitative variation as between different colonies.

In the United Kingdom the working man's

standard of life depends on three main factors. His money income determines his ability to acquire for himself and his dependents such front-line necessities as food, housing, clothing, etc., and such so-called luxuries as drink, tobacco, entertainments and those other items which form an integral part of his normal life. The services provided by the Government and such other social institutions as the church, friendly societies, trade unions and so on make another important contribution to his welfare. They determine his enjoyment of essential services such as sanitation and water supply, of free medical and legal aid, of police and defence organisation, of education, religious instruction



and guidance, and of various kinds of provision for loss of earning power through ill-health, old age or trade depression. Finally, the working man's standard of life depends on the accumulated knowledge, equipment, wealth and traditions of the society in which he lives. From this common stock he may draw the economic and social advantages which accrue from ports, roads, and drainage systems, the long life and good health which result from a national store of medical knowledge and of experience in its efficient utilisation, the cultural pleasures to be derived from the national store of art treasures, educational institutions endowed with scholarly traditions and often supported by the wealth of past generations, and a form of social organisation which satisfies some of his most urgent needs for self-expression whether it be through organised games or political societies or other social pursuits.

Some idea of the standards of life prevailing in the British colonial empire can be obtained through an examination of the nature and strength of these factors in the lives of colonial peoples. The income of the native populations in the British colonies, for example, shows a wide variation but the weight is on the side of the lower levels. In Bermuda before the war a builder's labourer could earn about 9/- a day, which, if he worked a regular 5½-day week for most of the year, would give him an income of about £120. A builder's labourer in the United Kingdom earned about £143 per annum in 1938. The average income of the African worker in the Northern Rhodesian copper mines, on the other hand, was less than £30 per annum even when allowance is made for free housing and food and for the crops raised by his family. The Northern Rhodesian mineworker is, moreover, an aristocrat among working men in his own country and enjoys an income standard which is probably three times as high as that of the average Central African peasant pursuing a predominantly subsistence agriculture. Even £20 a year would be a good income for an African labourer and Africans constitute over 70 per cent of the population of the colonial empire.

Clearly, while the bulk of colonial government revenues are raised from the colonies themselves, the extent of the welfare services which can be provided by the government or

other social institutions is severely limited by the poverty of the taxpayers. For the colonial empire as a whole the revenues raised locally are only about £1 2s. od. per head of the population. In large backward areas such as are most in need of governmental services, less than 10/- per head is raised in revenue. Since social and economic services rarely account for more than between 50 and 60 per cent of a colonial government's expenditure, and often less than 50 per cent in the more backward areas, the government's contribution to the native standard of living is not very high when measured in money terms.

Money comparisons, however, either of income or of government expenditure, are far from satisfactory. An English pound spent in Jamaica buys a very different 'bundle' of goods and services from an English pound spent in Uganda. Ten shillings spent on the education of a child in Malta brings with it quite another standard of education from that obtainable by a similar expenditure in Central Africa. Information of a qualitative kind is required to fill out the incomplete picture provided by income and expenditure figures.

One significant indication of a people's standard of living is its nutritional state. In 1936 the Secretary of State sent a circular despatch to all the colonial governors asking for information on nutrition in their respective areas. Their replies were considered by the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire and embodied in a report which it published. Summarising its principal conclusions drawn from this review of food and health problems in the colonies the committee wrote as follows: "We are confident that improved nutrition will bring very great benefit to the Colonial Empire. At the present time the effects of malnutrition are seen not only in definite disease but also in general ill-health and lowered resistance to infection, inefficiency of labour in industry and agriculture, material and infantile mortality and a general lack of well-being. In particular, there can be no reasonable doubt that wrong feeding is one of the principal causes of the very high infantile mortality which prevails in most colonial territories." On the general character of colonial diets the committee concludes that "... few of the constituents considered necessary in Europe for a nutritionally adequate diet are

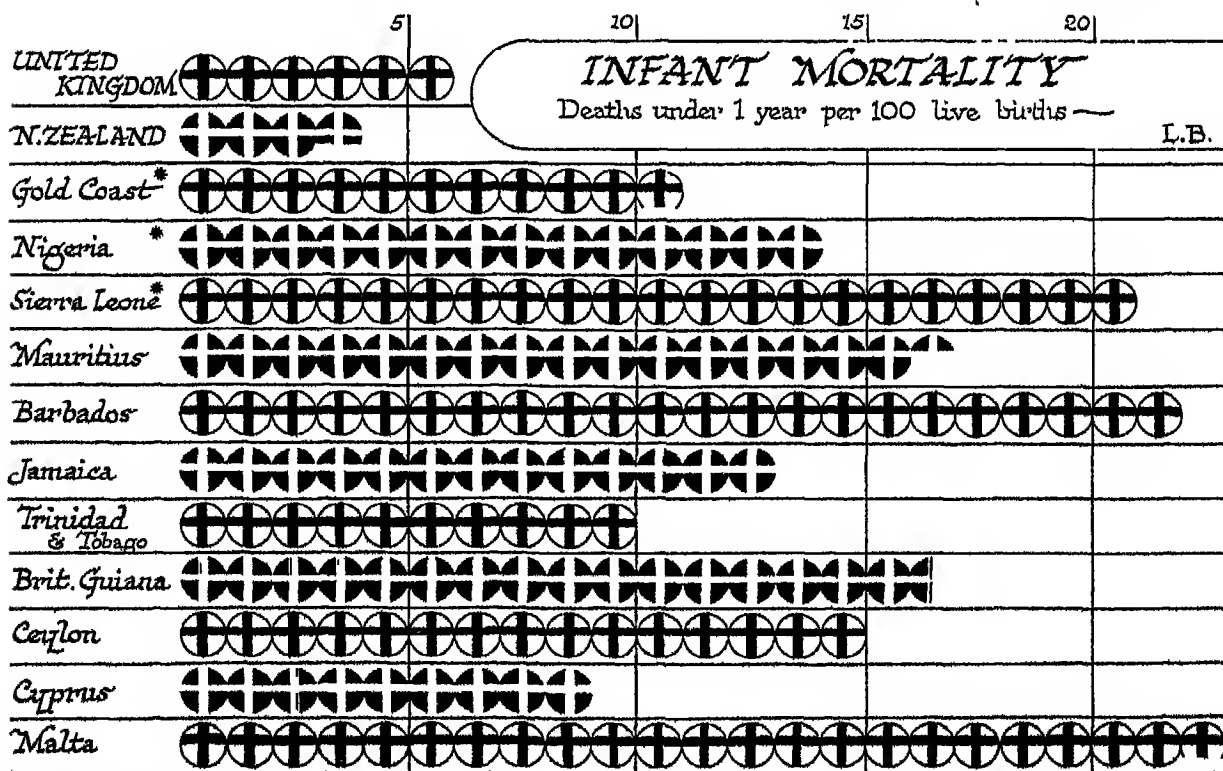
generally available in sufficient quantities in the Colonial Empire. Diets are frequently insufficient in quantity and still more frequently insufficient in quality. Judged by European standards they lack variety and protective value." The final conclusion is quite simple. "We have no hesitation in saying that in general the fundamental cause of malnutrition is the low standard of living. In almost every part of the Colonial Empire the income of a very large proportion of the population is a long way below the minimum required for a satisfactory nutrition."

The existence of deficiency diseases due to malnutrition, and in particular to a lack of animal protein, was reported from nearly every colony. They varied from rickets or dental caries, the latter being estimated to affect 70 to 95 per cent of Malayan school-children, to beri-beri which accounted for nearly 5 per cent of the certified deaths in Hong Kong in 1937. In the African colonies, where diet is known to be often ill-balanced and even inadequate, statistical information on death and disease is scanty, but it was reported from Nigeria that the expectation

of life at birth is about twenty-two years in the North. Of 12,000 children examined in Jamaica "multiple avitaminosis was found in about 20 per cent, the most striking signs being blindness, glossitis, stomatitis, dry skin and anaemia."

Local custom and ignorance often preserve an ill-balanced diet even where the necessary additions are obtainable. Milk and eggs, for example, are deliberately neglected over a large part of the colonial Empire, often because of tribal taboos. In the East, polished rice is preferred to the unprocessed and more nutritious article. In Nyasaland, where diets are deficient in calcium and phosphorus, maize bran is fed to domestic animals though it contains these elements.

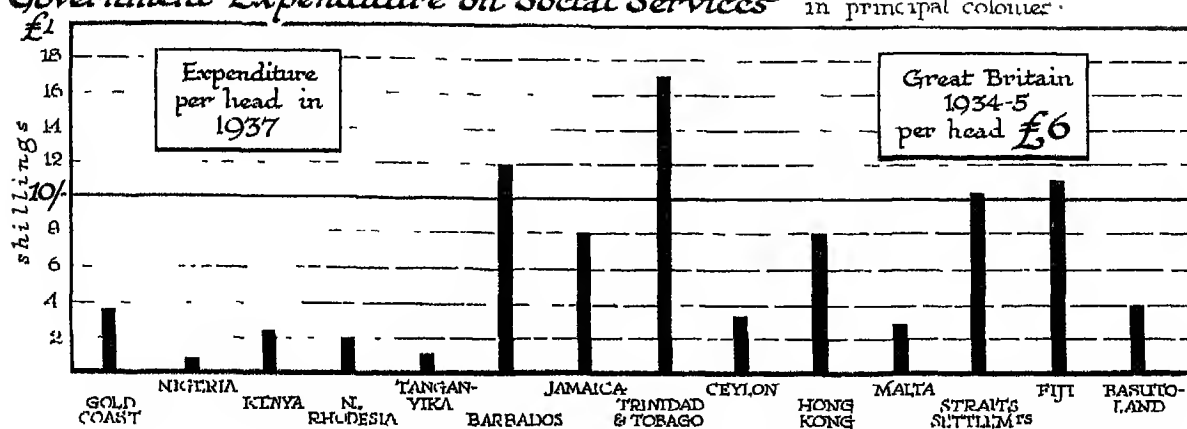
In a few colonies, valuable work is being done by government and voluntary organisations to combat malnutrition. In Ceylon a Department of Nutrition has been set up, which undertakes field surveys, research and national education of teachers and the general public. In Hong Kong two food distribution centres, run by charitable organisations, provided one good meal a day for 2,000 destitute Chinese. In some African colonies there are legal minimum



Based on figures from the League of Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1941 and from the Report of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire.

\*Figures for Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone are available for certain areas only.

## Government Expenditure on Social Services in principal colonies



From Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire, 1937

ration scales for urban workers, and these relieve the wage-earners at least. The less accessible population of the rural areas can be helped by education designed to teach the natives what to eat and how to grow it. In Nigeria, for example, there is a mobile cinema unit. A Kenya District Commissioner commented thus, in his annual report for 1935, on the physique of a poor tribe for which an agricultural school had been set up: "It is really remarkable what a change is wrought in the Suk after a period of only three years in the school. On meeting ex-schoolboys in the reserves one might really believe they belong to some other tribe." Unfortunately, there are still many places where little or nothing is being done to improve nutrition.

Malnutrition is not, however, the only cause of widespread ill-health among colonial peoples. Particularly in Africa, the lack of adequate health services is an important factor in preventing the relatively low colonial standard from rising. Lord Hailey gives the following striking picture in "An African Survey."

"It is . . . clear from statistics given in connection with the organisation of health services that large numbers of African people, if not the majority, are still beyond the reach of medical and health services in the ordinary sense. It is safe to conclude that in many districts such services consist of the limited facilities of a mission dispensary or a small supply of medicines and "first-aid" material at a government station, possibly dispensed by a half-trained African orderly. Village sanitation does not exist in many areas—the sole sanitary measures are

those brought about by the District Officer who may insist on villages being kept clean, or advise native authorities to make rules to this effect and punish offenders. Most ordinances presenting the powers and duties of native authorities allow for rules requiring the reporting of deaths, and it is usual for deaths from unknown or suspicious causes to be reported to the District Officer, who by this means may detect the presence of an unusual disease or an epidemic. The District Officer, is indeed, the channel through which the presence of such disease becomes known to the medical authorities, and in few rural areas does there appear to be any system of detection of disease by qualified persons that can be said to be effective. Opinions with regard to the incidence of the more typical African diseases may vary, but it is clear that, in many rural areas, the mortality from malaria is high, and that sources of malarial infection exist in most villages; that helminthic diseases are almost universal, the filthy state of the villages being conducive to their spread; and that few village children are free from sores, and many adults are undernourished and have little stamina. An examination of a typical Central African village would show that the sick, especially old persons and children, are neglected or unwisely treated, the elements of hygiene are lacking, the wearing of unhygienic and dirty clothing is usual, and food is prepared in dirty vessels, flies swarm in garbage thrown near the village and huts are often unswept and infested with parasites."

The picture of disease in Africa becomes more

terrible when pushed into particular districts. Malaria is chronic in all but a few areas. About half a million cases of leprosy are actually known: probably as many more again are also in existence. All East African territories have reported outbreaks of bubonic plague, which is endemic in Tanganyika. In West Africa estimates of the incidence of venereal diseases vary from 50 to 90 per cent of the total population. It has been established, on the basis of a sample survey, that in East Africa over 90 per cent of the population are infected with one or more kinds of worms, while the incidence of yaws and syphilis has been calculated at about 60 per cent. In overcrowded areas, and particularly in towns, tuberculosis is already common.

The educational and, in some cases, the cultural well-being of colonial peoples is also low by United Kingdom standards. The vast majority are completely illiterate. Only a small fraction of the children of school-going age are receiving any education at all. In Trinidad the proportion receiving instruction is as high as 80 per cent. In Nigeria, it is below 12 per cent. Nyasaland has benefited from extensive missionary activity, and has about 70 per cent of its children between five and fifteen enrolled in schools, but mission funds are inadequate to provide a high quality of equipment and instruction. Throughout Africa, there are many "bush schools," which provide only a feeble rudiment of education.

The provision of educational facilities varies widely in quality and scope throughout the Colonial Empire. No colony is able to provide a comprehensive system of education covering all children of school-going age and providing all stages of instruction from kindergarten to University. In Africa educational institutions range from the little bush schools to Achimota or Makerere Colleges, from the handful of village children under the instruction of an ex-pupil of a mission or government school, himself qualified only by a rudimentary primary education, to a residential institution which includes students at the University level. In Malaya there were four years of free and compulsory education and a free secondary education was available to all who satisfactorily completed the four years course. Travelling dentists, dispensaries and film units periodically advise, treat, and instruct

Malayan school-children.

In recent years, many experiments have been made in adapting the curriculum and methods of colonial schools to the local environment and the needs of the local community.

Local geography and history, local methods of agriculture, the local language, local dances and crafts, play a prominent part in the curriculum, side by side with English, science, and world geography and history. School gardens are now very general.

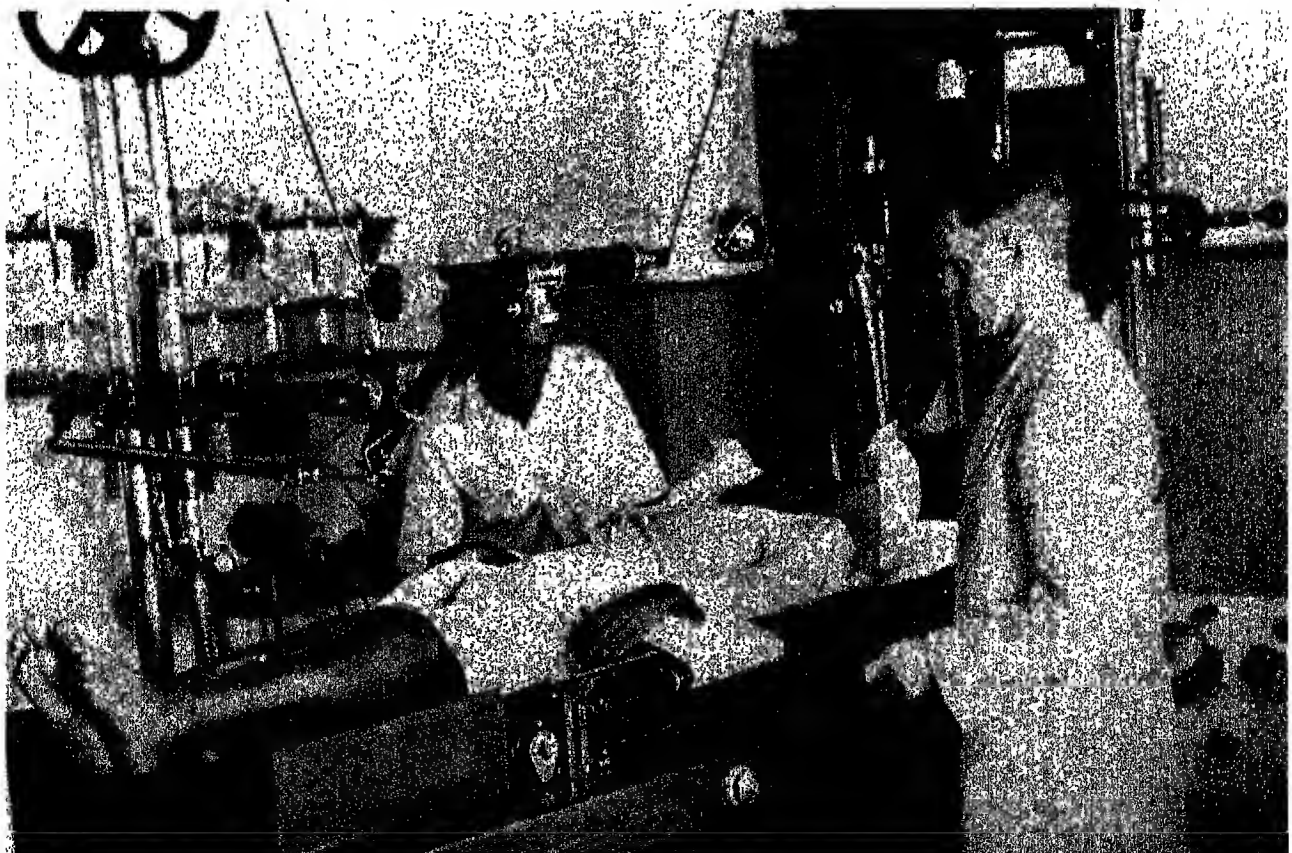
Jeunes schools, of which there are several in Africa, were originally designed as teachers' training schools. Now their aim is to train all workers for native welfare in the development of model village communities and their students have included chiefs, visiting teachers, agricultural inspectors and health workers.

Finally, in describing the educational forces in the colonies we must not forget two potentially important sources of influence—the youth club and the government agent. Both can adapt their teaching to environment and both can reach persons outside the normal school-going age for whom there is little or no educational provision in the normal course of events. In the West Indies, for example, the J-H clubs, an American variety of young farmers' clubs, are making considerable progress among young people. They take their name from the pledge given by their members, a pledge which dedicates Head, Heart, Hands and Health to the service of the community, and they aim at inspiring rural boys and girls with an intelligent practical interest in their own environment and community.

One of the most important functions of the colonial welfare departments is the collection and distribution of information on local conditions and problems. Since most of the local inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, the work of the agricultural departments in this respect is of particular importance. In some parts of illiterate Africa a practice has developed of training certain Africans in the most suitable methods and then of sending them out to the villages to cultivate demonstration plots so that their neighbours can be induced by precept and example to improve their methods. The government staffs, especially in the remote areas of Africa, are extremely small and the average administrative, agricultural, medical or welfare



*Health Contrast.* ABOVE — African victims of sleeping sickness.  
BELOW — X-Ray Department in Uganda Hospital.



officer has a vast area and a considerable scattered population under his care. But the value of the work these few individuals can accomplish is out of all proportion to their number. The story of Africa is rich with localised personal experiments in education, whether they aim at weaning the African from such bad old customs as feeding newborn infants with solid food, or at introducing them to improved and tested habits such as the rotation of crops, or the construction of sanitary village latrines.

The third factor in the standard of living of a native of the United Kingdom is his social heritage. In part this consists simply of his country's natural resources and of the additions and improvements made by his ancestors. In part, it consists of such immaterial sources of real income as the stock of wisdom and culture accumulated by past generations.

Cultural standards are not easily compared. But in this sphere it is evident that the European races do not always have the advantage over more primitive races. The music and oratory of the Polynesians, the rhythmic music of the Africans, and the pottery, carving, or other handiwork of many colonial peoples reach a high standard of excellence. Most colonial peoples have a closer contact with their national or tribal culture, and the mass of them make much more direct contribution to it than is normal in Europe. In this respect at any rate, the poorest African native often enjoys a richer cultural life than a member of the working-class in any of the great European or American cities.

In other respects, however, he may not be so fortunate. Many colonial peoples have their lives made wretched by superstition, and, in particular, by the belief in magic. The power of the witch-doctor depends on his supposed ability to protect his patients from sorcery, but it is often used with dire psychological effect to inflict "supernatural" punishment on his enemies or on the enemies of his patients. In Northern Rhodesia witch-doctors are liable to seven years imprisonment, in Uganda to five. Christians seem as prone as pagans to a belief in magic. Even the more sophisticated West Indians can be terrified by the "obeahman," a local form of witch-doctor.

In the more material sense, in physical resources and in technological skill, the heritage of colonial peoples is at a low level. Poverty

of natural resources, and still more, of man-made improvements, is characteristic of the colonies. Particularly is this true of British colonial Africa. Here there are vast tracts, often of arid and semi-arid land, poor in the mineral salts necessary for successful cultivation and rich in such pests as locusts, or as the deadly tsetse fly, which makes it impossible to keep cattle. Soil erosion is a grave problem in many colonies. In Africa it means that considerable areas of land are losing all fertility and that one of the native's few assets, his land, is steadily washing, shifting, or blowing away. It has been estimated that the eroding highlands of Nyasaland can to-day support less than half the population they did a hundred years ago. Two-thirds of Tanganyika and five-eighths of Northern Rhodesia is in the grip of tsetse-fly, and many people throughout Africa are suffering from the malnutrition caused by an insufficiency of animal protein. In Jamaica, the peasant's chief economic crop, the banana, is afflicted by a disease which infects the land and steadily reduces the acreage on which bananas can profitably be grown.

If the colonial heritage, such as it is, is to be maintained, still more if it is to be improved, all the resources of modern science and vast amounts of capital will have to be made available. Not only do the colonial peoples lack the necessary knowledge and capital, they lack also the security to obtain these services on credit through commercial channels. The rapid spread of railways and modern cities over the face of America in the nineteenth century is in striking contrast to the stagnation in Africa. The discovery of valuable copper deposits in Northern Rhodesia attracted only so much capital as was necessary to construct the mining towns and the single railway connecting them to the frontier. To-day, copper worth over £10,000,000 is exported annually from the colony. But it is still unprofitable to grow crops for sale over the greater part of the native-occupied territory. For the dwellers in remote villages the effect of this localised commercial development of their country is often to reduce their standard of living instead of increasing it, since it attracts able-bodied men to the mining areas in search of high wages and leaves an inadequate labour supply to raise subsistence crops at home.

In so far as the resources of a richer civilisation have actually been made available to the natives,





*Education Contrast.* ABOVE — A bush school in a Nuba village (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan).  
 BELOW — The Library Gates of King's College (UGANDA).



their standard of living has undoubtedly benefited. In several African territories an approved ration scale for employed workers has been laid down; where legally enforced, as for some workers in Northern Rhodesia, it means a balanced diet for the labourer in spite of his ignorance of food values. Forty-two colonies provide for minimum wage fixing in their legislation, although few enforce it. In others, social security legislation of a rudimentary nature is being introduced. The appointment of British trade union leaders as labour advisers in some colonies means that part of the valuable experience of the British labour movement is made available to people who have little experience in popular organization.

The passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 is an important step in the same direction. The earlier Colonial Development Act of 1929 provided for an annual vote by the United Kingdom Parliament of a sum not exceeding £1,000,000. Its purpose was to develop trade and industry in the colonies, and at the same time to encourage the production of British capital goods through the resulting investment activity. The 1940 Act increased the annual provision of capital to £5,000,000, together with a further £500,000 for research, and its scope was extended to include welfare projects, such as health and education, of no direct commercial interest. The sum is not large when considered in relation to the magnitude and urgency of the colonial welfare problem, and to the numbers involved. But it marks a substantial advance in that it gives colonial peoples access to the wealth, knowledge, and organisation of a much richer civilisation, at least up to the money value of £5,500,000 a year.

In calculating the wealth which colonial peoples receive through grants and investments financed from the United Kingdom, it must be remembered that the flow is not always in the same direction. Much of this wealth and of the wealth produced by colonial peoples under its stimulus passes out of the colonies or to persons only temporarily resident therein. The money which is disbursed by the government or by commercial firms in colonial territories, particularly in tropical Africa, goes to a European minority which is often not permanently domiciled in the colony concerned. In 1938, for example, Northern Rhodesian mining companies paid £1,518,700 in salaries to their 2,700 European employees and £368,900, plus food, housing and other services worth altogether about the same, to their 23,100 native workers. Of the European salaries part is not even spent in the colony. In "An African Survey" it was estimated that European Government officers in Kenya spend about a third of their salaries

abroad, either when on leave, or in the form of remittances to their families, or to meet insurance and similar charges. In addition, heavy direct payments may be made abroad in the form of dividends to foreign shareholders, interest on investments, tax on foreign companies operating in the colony, and pensions and gratuities to persons resident abroad. In peace-time about £5,000,000 went in dividends and tax mainly to the United Kingdom, from Northern Rhodesia alone. The charge for pensions and gratuities, most of which may go abroad, often amounts to about 10 per cent of a colonial Government's total expenditure.

In addition to the £5,000,000 granted for development and welfare programmes in the colonies, a further £500,000 was voted for colonial research. In effect, research is fundamental to any long-term development programme. Not only are colonial problems new and complex, but the information so far available is inadequate even for efficient routine administration. Satisfactory population statistics have yet to be compiled for any African colony. Nowhere is the system of taxation of any colony based on full information about local income distribution. Colonial problems of health, nutrition, agriculture and sociological conditions call for immediate and extensive research of a specialised nature. In "An African Survey", for example, Lord Hailey claims that the development of Africa "inevitably demands more than the routine application of existing knowledge. In practically every sphere of work on which this survey has touched, problems present themselves which require the acquisition of exceptional knowledge, or the application of unusual measures."

Many organisations of an independent or unofficial nature already engage in research on colonial problems. They range from highly specialised bodies like the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation or the Low Temperature Research Station, Trinidad, to the Imperial Institute which provides consultation, research, and information for the whole of the Empire. Too often, however, research has been haphazard and unco-ordinated in spite of the co-ordinating activities of the Medical Research Council, the Economic Advisory Council, the League of Nations, the Commonwealth Scientific Conference of 1936 and the Colonial Office itself. A comprehensive research programme either in the social sciences or in the physical sciences has yet to be formulated for the colonial Empire as a whole or even for a single group of colonies.

*Locust horde on the borders of KENYA and UGANDA where infestation is often severe. Hundreds of thousands of cattle have died of starvation after the grass has been eaten up. Measures for locust prevention must be international in scope.*





# PLANS FOR THE COLONIES

## The Government's Plans

The Cabinet Minister responsible to Parliament for the administration and development of the colonial empire is the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is his department of the Civil Service, the Colonial Office, whose task it is to draw up the Government's plans for the future of the colonies. Usually these plans and the general principles of policy underlying them are presented to the public in the form of statements by Ministers and by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in particular, or as published reports issued from the Colonial Office.

### International Responsibility

In respect of the international position of the colonies the official attitude is clear and uncompromising on one point at least. There is to be no question of abandonment of the ultimate responsibility for the British colonies. In December 1938, Malcolm MacDonald, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following statement in the House of Commons:

"I do not believe that there is to-day any section of opinion in this country that is disposed to hand over to any other country the cares of any kingdoms or peoples for whose government we are responsible either as a colonial or as a Mandatory Power. That view has been expressed in every part of the House, and it is a view which is shared by His Majesty's Government. We are not discussing the matter; we are not considering it; it is not now an issue in practical politics."

More recently, in March 1943, the Prime Minister stated categorically in the House that:

"His Majesty's Government are convinced that the administration of the British colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain. The policy of His Majesty's Government is to plan for the fullest possible political, economic and social development of the colonies within the British Empire, and in close co-operation with neighbouring and friendly nations."

The present Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Stanley, in the following statement to the House, threw some light on the machinery of 'close co-operation' envisaged by the Government:

"His Majesty's Government would welcome the establishment of machinery which will enable such problems to be discussed and to be solved by common efforts. What they have in mind is the possibility of establishing Commissions for certain regions. These Commissions would comprise not only the States with Colonial territories in the region, but also other States which have in the region a major strategic or economic interest. While each state would remain responsible for the administration of its own

territory, such a Commission would provide effective and permanent machinery for consultation and collaboration so that the States concerned might work together to promote the well-being of the Colonial territories. An important consideration in designing the machinery of each Commission will be to give to the people of the Colonial territories in the region an opportunity to be associated with its work. In this way it would be possible to have international co-operation which consisted of something more than theoretical discussions but would be able to grapple with realities and get down to the solution of individual problems."

He made it clear, however, that the co-operation is intended to be consultative only and that the Government has in mind the development of the idea which led to the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.

### Doctrine of trusteeship and partnership

But while the British government does not recognise any external restrictions on its colonial policy except in so far as it accepts its obligations as a mandatory power, it does admit a responsibility towards colonial peoples. As long ago as 1837 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the treatment of aboriginal tribes in British territories, formally accepted the doctrine of trusteeship. To-day, the conception has been enlarged to include the principle of partnership. In a speech to the House of Commons in July 1943, Colonel Stanley described 'the central purpose of our colonial administration' as trusteeship, and made this comment on it:

"Some of us feel now that the word 'trustee' is rather too static in its construction and that we should prefer to combine with the status of trustee the position also of partner. But we are pledged to guide Colonial peoples along the road to self-government within the framework of the British Empire. We are pledged to build up their social and economic institutions, and we are pledged to develop their natural resources."

The deliberate application of this policy has had significant results in territories with strong immigrant communities, particularly immigrants of British origin. The Devonshire White Paper of 1923 which dealt with the problem of immigrant communities in Kenya, for example, provided a firm interpretation of the implications of the doctrine of trusteeship. It stated that:

"Primarily Kenya is an African territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests

and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict the former should prevail. In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races."

### Self-government

The pledge 'to guide Colonial peoples along the road to self-government' has long been regarded as one of the most important implications of the doctrine of trusteeship. The speed of the advancement, however, and the methods of promoting it have still to be defined. In his speech to the House in July 1943, Colonel Stanley put the official attitude thus:

"It is no part of our policy to confer political advances which are unjustified by circumstances, or to grant self-government to those who are not yet trained in its use, but if we are to be true to our pledge, it we really mean as soon as practicable to develop self-government in these territories, it is up to us to see that circumstances as soon as possible justify political advances and to ensure that as quickly as possible people are trained and equipped for eventual self-government." Later in the same speech he indicated some of the ways in which he hoped to train and equip colonial peoples for these advances; giving examples of the policy in practice, he mentioned:

(a) Local Government.

"I regard the extension of local government as one of the quickest and certainly the surest methods of making sure of the extension of central government. We are doing all we can to extend this local self-government."

(b) Trade Unions.

"Experience in the organisation and leadership of trades unions is one of the best methods of education for political responsibility. Within the last few years they have been given every assistance by Colonial Governments."

(c) Co-operative Societies.

"With regard to co-operatives, we have done something, but I confess not as much as I should like. By 'co-operatives' I do not only mean co-operative societies organised for marketing or buying or even for producing. I mean such societies as the 'better living' movements in India and Ceylon and various welfare societies. In fact, the latter are particularly valuable, because they maintain in the new society something of the community spirit, the very great community spirit of the old tribal organisation. Those who have tried between the two wars to take a hand in setting up co-operative agricultural societies among farmers in order to buy and market, will realize how difficult it is. It is sometimes better to start by instituting marketing schemes under central control which do provide for the gradual association of producers, and may, therefore, pass on finally to becoming co-operative societies. All these co-operative societies are different. They require leadership. They need trained people. . . ."

(d) Central Administration.

"There are two lines of development which after the War have to be followed. The first is to stimulate and to encourage the staffing of the colonial public services by the people of the colonies themselves. I think this progressive association with the day-to-day administration of government in the colonies is as genuine an advance towards self-government as any spectacular development in the political field. What it means in practice is that we should afford to the people of the Colonies the necessary training which will enable them to take on these jobs, and that, of course, links in with the importance of higher education."

"Secondly, we have to recognise that in the Colonies

as a whole we shall continue to need a substantial number of European Civil servants. The developments which we have in hand are going to demand not merely skilled technicians of every kind, but there will inevitably be many additional posts, as the whole economic, health and educational field opens up. Many of the posts will be filled from the Colonies, but in other cases there will be a need for the special qualifications which can be obtained only from outside." And he concluded with a recognition of the importance of financial independence.

"Our objective in the Colonial Empire must be to make the Colonies self-supporting. There cannot be any real self-government if you are financially dependent. Political responsibility goes ill with financial dependence."

The experience of Newfoundland which was forced to surrender its dominion status until such time as it could regain its financial independence, illustrates the importance of this point

### Standards of living

The Colonial Secretary continued his statement to the House of Commons by outlining his plans for the economic development of the Colonial Empire. He visualised colonies with a sound economic system adequate to meet the needs of Government and peoples and to give a reasonable standard of life, and he emphasised the opportunity presented by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

"By passing that Act we have driven a breach into the old rigid system of Colonial financial self-sufficiency—a system which meant that a poor Colony, because it was poor, was unable to start those reforms and developments which alone held out any promise of increasing its permanent wealth. It is on that line that we have to look at expenditure under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and not as something which is merely a perpetual subvention to local budgets. There is no future on that line."

He then went on to stress the need for an expansionist world system, the necessity for basic developments in each territory—transport, communications, power, water supply, the predominant need in the Colonial Empire of agricultural development and its dependence upon improved research, improved agricultural education and improved methods of production and distribution: with special reference to three main problems:

(a) Development of Air Transport.

Colonel Stanley described plans for setting up a special department in the Colonial Office to deal with communications problems and to provide expert advice.

(b) Secondary Industries.

"We all agree that all over the Colonial Empire it is agricultural production which is going to be predominant, but we also agree that in many Colonies it will not be possible for them ever to reach or to maintain any reasonable standard without some increase in their present scale of industrialisation. That growth must be reasonable. I cannot think of anything more fatal to the economics of the Colonies than a rash, mushroom, industrial growth, fostered by high protective tariffs unrelated either to local products or local markets."

The industries which it is proposed to foster fall into two main classes: (1) industries for the processing of natural products, whether for home consumption or for

export, carrying them one stage further before they leave the country; and (2) simple manufactures which do not demand the import of large quantities of raw materials, and where the local market will be adequate to absorb the full production of a unit of efficient size. Their development will require the assistance of private capital, since the financial resources of the Colonial Governments and the financial assistance which His Majesty's Government are to give under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act will be fully needed for basic development and social advances."

(c) An Economic Advisory Committee.

Colonel Stanley emphasised the need of planning the details of economic development on the spot and rejected the idea of a central development board for that reason. He proposes to give guidance on general principles, on broad lines; by means of a number of advisory committees dealing with such problems as education, agriculture, research, social services and economics, "composed of men of great technical qualifications and knowledge of the subject." In this connection it is interesting to note the recent appointments of an economist, Mr. Noel Hall, as Development Adviser, and an architect, Mr. Maxwell Fry, as Town Planning Adviser, to the four West African Governments.

## Education

Educational advance was described by Colonel Stanley as one of the 'pillars upon which any sound scheme of political responsibility must be based' and he went on to outline a wide conception of 'education by life for life' which included the developments in local government, trade unions, co-operative associations and public service considered above. On education in the more restricted sense of schooling, he anticipated the evolution of a new technique in the 'drive upon mass illiteracy' which has been the subject of a report on "Mass Education" by the Advisory Committee on Education. In the evolution of this technique the Secretary of State emphasised the need to use the newest methods and to learn from experiments which have already been successfully carried out in other countries, in Russia and in China, for instance.

"I believe that the only road to success is through the enthusiasm of the peoples concerned. This effort to deal with mass illiteracy has to be not a Government but a community effort, an effort in which all are interested and in which all play their part. When I receive that report (i.e. the Advisory Committee's report on Mass Education) I shall ask all Governors to take it into account in framing the educational plans which they are now engaged upon. One thing is certain that, however we approach this problem, whatever new technique we can devise, it will call for the expenditure of large sums of money and for that expenditure we shall have to, and shall be able to, have recourse to the Colonial Development Fund."

Both elementary and higher education are to have a prominent part in the programme of educational advancement suggested by the Secretary of State.

"The spread of elementary education through the Colonies is really a necessity, for everything we are trying to do, every social improvement, every economic development, in some measure demands an increase of knowledge among the people.

"It is quite clear that if our goal of Colonial self-government is to be achieved, colonial universities and colleges will have to play an immense part in that development. They are the centres of higher education in their respective areas. They will, first of all, have to meet the enormously increased need for trained professionals which increased social and economic services will necessitate. They will have to provide the agriculturalists, the engineers, the doctors, the teachers, the veterinary surgeons, and the specialists and technicians which the approach to higher standards of life will entail. They will have, too, to do an enormous amount of research. Finally, besides the training that they will give within their own walls and the research they will do within their own walls, they will have a great task beyond their walls. With the extra-mural activities and refresher courses which they will give, they will be able throughout the areas of which they are centres to stimulate general progress and to encourage the production of teachers from those who gain their knowledge and experience from their daily life.

"It takes little imagination to picture what a tremendous gain it would be if in a way these colonial colleges could be admitted as partners in the circle of the home universities; if there could be an intellectual Lend-Lease between the universities at home and the colonial centres of higher education, between the old-established centres here and the new rising centres in the Colonies. It would not only be the colonial centres which would gain, although they would gain immensely from having the enormous intellectual resources of the home universities standing behind them. The home universities might be much enriched by the knowledge of the Colonies which they could acquire and from the visits of teachers from the Colonies, just as we might send out people to teach them."

In pursuance of these plans for linking up higher education in the colonies with the home universities the Colonial Secretary announced the setting up of two commissions of enquiry, one a general one to enquire into the general problem of the relationship between home and colonial university systems and the other a special one on higher education in West Africa to visit Africa early in 1944. Since then a group from the former Commission has been sent to visit and report on education in the Caribbean area.

These are the principles of policy on which the Colonial Office is basing its plans for the future of the Colonies. Most of the details have yet to be formulated or made public. In a circular despatch to the Colonial Governments dated 5th June, 1941, the Colonial Secretary, then Lord Moyne, called on them to "prepare for rapid action after the war and on the other hand do all they can without interference with the war effort, to improve standards even during the War." On post-war planning he wrote as follows:

"There can be few dependencies in which (if it has not been done already) a general framework of plans for social development in health, education, rural welfare, and so on would not be valuable. Even though the preparation of detailed programmes may not be justified, it is, I think, important that each of the departments concerned with social welfare, should have an outline plan and that these departmental plans should be co-ordinated

by some central agency into a general framework covering a period of at least five years ahead."

When these plans become available and when the Advisory Committees which are producing reports have finished them they will no doubt provide the basic material for a comprehensive plan of development for the Colonial Empire. A sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies has already produced an important report on Mass-Education to which we have already referred, and which is quoted at length later (see p. 60).

### Some International Views

The colonial problem has always been an important international issue, but until recently it was rather as a factor in power politics than as a problem of intrinsic importance. The 'have' Powers were opposed in principle to any redistribution of colonial territory. The 'have-not' Powers claimed a share in the 'division of the riches of the earth.' General Ritter von Epp, leader of the Reich Colonial League, stated a German view in February 1939, thus:

"We demand, as one of the leading civilised nations of the world, our share in a coming planned distribution of world space, which is necessary for the future of a nation of eighty million people."

Some nations condemned all colonial policies from the outset. It was officially stated at Geneva in 1935 that:

"The Soviet Government is in principle opposed to the system of colonies, to the policy of spheres of influence, and to anything pertaining to imperialist aims."

In effect the problem was often considered from the point of view of the colonial powers or the potential colonial powers rather than from the point of view of the backward peoples whose interests they were supposed to be considering. One of the most interesting features of present-day colonial policy is the growing sense of corporate responsibility among the great Powers for the backward areas of the world and for the colonial territories in particular. This international point of view on the colonial problem takes as its starting-point the needs of colonial peoples and discusses the allocation of responsibility from that angle.

An outspoken critic of Imperialism, Mr. Wendell Wilkie, broadcast in October 1942 a speech which reflects an important American point of view. He had just returned from a journey to the Far East.

"There exists a great reservoir of goodwill towards the American people. People like our work and enterprise because, unlike that of most industrial nations, it does not

necessarily lead to political control or imperialism. We are punching holes in this reservoir by failing to define our war aims. The Chinese and Russians know what they are fighting for. They are not sure of us. They are not satisfied with the Atlantic Charter and they ask 'What about a Pacific Charter? What about a world Charter? Is there to be no Charter of Freedom for the billions of the East?' In Africa, in the Middle East, as well as in China and the whole Far East freedom means the orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system. The rule of people by other people is not freedom and not what we must fight to preserve.

"I am not talking about the Commonwealth of Free Nations. I am talking about the colonial system. We Americans are still apt to think and speak of the 'British Empire'. We must recognise the truth that in vast areas of the world there is no longer any British Empire but instead a proud Commonwealth of Free Nations. British and colonial possessions are but remnants of Empire. There are men and women throughout the commonwealth working towards reducing these remnants, extending the commonwealth in place of the colonial system. We share with those men and women of the British Commonwealth the responsibility of making the whole world a commonwealth of free nations. There are no local problems. India is our problem. The Philippines are a British problem. If we fail to deliver the independence we have promised to the Filipinos, the whole Pacific world will be the loser."

### The Implications of the Atlantic Charter

The Atlantic Charter was issued by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill in August 1941. It embodies, in the following eight points, "certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hope for a better future for the world."

1. "Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

2. "They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3. "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

4. "They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade, and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. "They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

6. "After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

7. "Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

8. "They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

To many people these eight points seemed to



contain much that was directly applicable to colonial policy, in spite of Mr. Churchill's statement a few weeks later in the House to the effect that the Atlantic Charter was framed primarily with a view to European conditions.

Indeed, the Charter formed "the heart of the Report" on "The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American standpoint" which was produced by the Committee on Africa, the War and Peace Aims, under the sponsorship of the Phelps-Stokes fund of New York. This study attempts "to record the basic rights and social essentials necessary to the welfare and full development of the African people." But although it relates especially to the welfare of Africans living south of the Sahara it is relevant to the colonial problem as a whole. The following extracts from the report show how the committee has used the eight basic points of the Charter to suggest a comprehensive social and economic programme.

"The principle of this first point involves not only the actual abandonment of the policy of territorial aggrandizement wherever it may have existed, but also of any form of commercial aggrandizement at the expense of the native peoples.

"The principle of 'He must increase, but I must decrease' should be adopted by every outside power in its relation to the African."

In dealing with the second point the committee condemned such proposals for the union of contiguous territories as might result in less satisfactory conditions for the native peoples. Examples cited were the proposals which have been made for the union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, or for the incorporation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in the Union of South Africa. The Committee observes: "It is clear that the implications of the 'Second Point' should prevent the plans being carried out unless there are more clearly defined guarantees than have yet been proposed as to the protection of native rights."

3. The advance of African peoples towards self-government seemed to the committee to involve, in addition to the further development of 'indirect rule', four general stages—all necessitating an intensive educational campaign, without which the trained leaders needed cannot be provided.

(a) The increasing representation of native Africans in the Government Civil Service so that they may themselves have training in the methods of governmental administration and the provision for some African members in every legislative Council.

(b) The gradual extension of this principle of native participation in colonial Government to the second stage in which Africans—aided and guided by competent and sympathetic advisers—might well have a comparable status with Europeans in their own Government, as far as the Legislative Council (or corresponding body) and the administration under the Governor is concerned.

(c) The stage where the native members of the Legislative Council and administrators, under the Governor, will be in the majority, and a beginning made of native membership in the Executive Council where such exists.

(d) The stage where each colony with its varied important population groups all co-operating as far as possible and given adequate representation will control its own destiny.

"What form the governments in Africa should ultimately take cannot be determined in advance. That they must have the representative element, is, however, clear. It is also essential that they be able to maintain order and financial solvency, dispense justice, develop wisely social welfare activities, protect minorities, and observe such agreements as they may enter into with the parent state or the mandate authority.

"Everything possible should be done in accordance with the best recent practice of the most enlightened European powers to secure officials who are known not only for character and ability, but for their imagination and broad human sympathies. The policy already initiated by Great Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal, of giving them intensive training in African studies prior to being sent out is to be recommended and should be further developed.

4. The declaration of the fourth point should be interpreted to include not only the continued and increased enjoyment by Africans of access to the trade and resources of their own country, but also to a larger measure of free trade between different parts of the continent. In this latter purpose the principles underlying the Congo Basin Treaties might well be extended to include a broader area, and their provisions for freedom of trade further implemented."

The Committee called for "a more sincere and effective recognition of the rights of African peoples in all economic enterprises and their full protection. They should be given every opportunity as their training increases, to develop their own industries and to become proprietors more frequently and on a larger scale than at present. There is also need for experimentation in matters of native economic improvement, such as through the further development of co-operatives industrial, agricultural and credit among the native peoples. Enlightened self-interest is a motive which deserves encouragement. The successes of the Chagga coffee growers in Tanganyika and of native cocoa producers of the Gold Coast are encouraging examples of what can be done through native co-operation in labour and industry."

5. The implications for Africa of this declaration should be interpreted to include especially Land Rights, Freedom of Labour, Economic Welfare, Housing, and some form of Trusteeship or mandate protection."

Under this heading, therefore, the Committee advocated measures to assure the native population of adequate satisfactory land, with guarantees against alienation without mutual consent; free choice of employment, a living wage and decent working conditions; the right of the African to strike, engage freely in trade union activities, and to carry on the trade or cultivate the crop of his choice; the removal of industrial colour-bar legislation; the removal of obligations to forced labour except under carefully controlled auspices for public works, or in a public emergency, and to forced military service except on terms applicable to all groups. It condemned taxation without some representation or a formal right of appeal to the taxing body. It emphasised again the need for developing village industries, but added:

"There is no way in which the economic condition of most colonies can be improved than by encouraging the improvement of the soil and sound methods of agriculture. This involves the whole problem of forest protection, re-forestation, the control of grazing, reduction of erosion, water conservation, local projects, animal husbandry and the control of pests. This not only involves a highly trained scientific staff of experts, but the winning of the co-operation, through wise extension methods, of tens of

thousands of native Africans engaged in agriculture and pastoral life."

Finally, the Committee interpreted the fifth point to imply that:

"All colonial areas in Africa should be under some form of international mandate inspection and report, and all such areas should pass through the stages of guardianship and participation in government, leading to autonomy. International administration should be introduced into these colonies not including independent states such as Ethiopia which have changed hands or which may change hands during the war; and such administration might well be tried in some other area or areas."

"6. A large proportion of Africans are still living on the borderland of want. To be relieved of 'fear and want' would be an indescribable boon. The goal is practicable under an intelligently conducted economic and social system."

"7. It is hoped that those parts of Africa which place hindrances in the way of visits by entirely responsible educated American Negroes may change their policies. All organizations in the United States which have anything to do with Africa should use special care to send out, as their agents, representatives and missionaries—both white and coloured—men and women who will be constructive and helpful in their attitude on complex social problems."

"8. Although it is right and proper that Africans should be encouraged to look forward to having a much larger share in determining their own policy, this must always be subject to the general plans for world collective security and policing that are decided upon. In a word, each nation, race and creed or other constituted minority should have full cultural autonomy, but this should not involve complete self-determination in the political field as this would result in the revival of extreme forms of nationalism which must be discouraged."

"Furthermore, in the interest of international co-operation within Africa, it would be of the greatest importance if there could be more contact and interchange of views between people of different colonies, not only of those under a single European Power but between responsible leaders in French, British, Belgian and Portuguese colonies. It is particularly important that government officials, especially Commissioners of Native Welfare and some of the higher officials, should meet to pool their information and wisdom from time to time."

## A Colonial Charter

In many quarters, however, it is felt that it is not sufficient to leave international agreement on the colonial problem to a working out of the implications of the Atlantic Charter. It is thought that there should be some more specific pronouncement on the internationally recognised rights of colonial peoples. A number of suggestions have already been put forward as to the form which a colonial charter should take, many of them clearly owing their inspiration to the ideals of the mandates system, of which they provide a development and extension.

In a speech to the Anti-Slavery Society delivered in May 1942, Lord Hailey put forward the following sketch of the points which he thought a colonial charter should cover.

"(1) The replacement of the term 'trusteeship' by some conception of 'partnership'.

(2) The extension to the colonies of the obligations

accepted by the modern state in regard to the improvement of social services and standards of living in its own domestic backward areas.

(3) Political development on the basis of existing institutions and a greater participation of the colonial peoples in the administrative services.

(4) The raising of the economic position of primary producers to the level of prosperity attained by industrial producers."

The Colonial Charter suggested by P.E.P. in its broadsheet on the colonies published in January 20th, 1942, represented an attempt to interpret the trusteeship principle in fairly precise but brief terms for the purposes of international agreement. It affirmed the following points:

"(1) That colonial dependencies are held in trust;

(2) the primary aim of the trusteeship is to enable the dependencies to attain self-government as rapidly as possible;

(3) the second major aim is the development of colonial territories primarily for the benefit of their own inhabitants;

(4) the trusteeship is exercised jointly by all countries included in the international organisation, but delegated, as far as administrative responsibilities go, to powers with colonial experience;

(5) no inherent or permanent inequality exists between races or peoples, and equal status and equal opportunity for all is a goal to be realised as speedily as possible;

(6) all nations adhering to the international organisation shall have equality of economic opportunity in the colonies, and also of all other opportunity, subject only to the need for maintaining efficient administration."

The Charter suggested by the Fabian Colonial Bureau in its journal *Empire* was broadly similar in spirit and scope to the Charters suggested by Lord Hailey and P.E.P. but started from the following criticism of Lord Hailey's suggestions:

"'Partnership' is too suggestive of a limited British enterprise, taking no account of the future interests of non-British territories and future collaboration with them. The political development envisaged by Lord Hailey leans too heavily on 'existing institutions' which have already outlived their popularity with the younger, educated generation. The economic point is far too vague to be useful, and there is no mention of race discrimination."

The Charter which followed these criticisms involved a change of emphasis based on the following six points of principle:

(1) A revaluation of the doctrine of trusteeship in more positive terms of equality of status. This would involve as rapid an advance to 'self-government' in the colonies as was feasible.

(2) In an ordered international society 'self-government' can no longer mean absolute sovereignty. There will be a necessity for colonial territories to be brought into closer relations with one another and to be grouped into larger 'areas of collaboration'.

(3) Within an 'area of collaboration' the more prosperous States will exercise a responsibility towards less prosperous just as the more prosperous areas within our State are responsible for the less prosperous. The responsibility takes the form of ensuring a uniform level of social services throughout the area—the colonies to administer and plan these services within their own frontiers.

(4) The economic activity of the whole area of collaboration will be centrally planned (all territories to have a voice in the planning) and related to a world economic order.

(5) The particular form which the Government and economic organization of a colony take must be evolved



by the peoples themselves, on condition that civil rights, the treatment of minorities and labour conditions conform with internationally agreed standards.

(b) European settlement in colonial areas should be controlled with no claim to privilege in administration or economics."

### International Colonial Conventions

On particular problems and their detailed application as opposed to the general principles embodied in a Colonial Charter, it is suggested that the responsible Powers should be asked to adhere to international colonial conventions similar to those prepared by the International Labour Office or to the Congo Basin Treaties. Like the Committee on Africa, the War and Peace Aims, P.E.P. advocates the establishment of a strong special Colonial section of the I.L.O. It adds:

"The conventions should cover forced labour, civil liberties, wages and hours, labour, welfare, opportunities for employment, education, etc. By this means a progressive raising of standards would be achieved and differences in administrative practice reduced. The effectiveness of this method would be greatly increased if local institutions, such as agricultural co-operative societies, bodies representing functional groups and local welfare organisations could be directly associated with the application of the conventions to the circumstances of particular areas. Finally, there must be provision for review and for constructive planning and guidance of development by international bodies, but the two functions should not be in the hands of the same body.

"Review would probably best be undertaken by the Colonial section of the I.L.O. which we have proposed. The applications of any conventions (as with the existing International Labour Conventions) should be the subject of annual report from the various administrations and also of international inspection under the Colonial section of the I.L.O. In case of failure to conform to the Colonial Charter as to any of the conventions in force the I.L.O. would report to the executive council of the International organisation."

A comprehensive international colonial convention was drawn up by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. The preamble and the first part of this convention lays down the basic general principles of what is in effect a Colonial Charter. They state, for example, that "no colony shall be transferred from one nation to another without the consent of the inhabitants," and that "there shall be no discrimination in law or practice against anyone on the ground of colour, race, language, creed or stage of development." They confirm the conventions of the International Labour Office, and claim for all wage-earners legal minimum wages, adequate housing, and the right to form trade unions.

The second part begins the convention proper. It deals with social and economic conditions in some detail and advocates free and compulsory

primary education, the expansion and international co-ordination of health measures, social insurance, workmen's compensation and regulation of hours of work, the conservation of natural resources and restrictions on the alienation of native land. It includes such Articles as:

"XXI. Colonial development shall be related to a planned economy. Minerals, water-power, transport services and works of public utility shall be developed as far as possible by public enterprise. In cases where development is entrusted to private enterprise, such enterprise shall be controlled and the profits from such enterprise shall be limited by taxation or otherwise, so as to secure a fair return in relation to the capital employed.

XXV. Research shall be made into problems of nutrition and the ascertainment of those food crops best suited for cultivation in different regions, and the people shall be encouraged to grow and consume the crops which will nourish them best."

Part III deals with the fostering of self-government in ten Articles, of which the following is one:

"XXVII. Self-government shall be regarded as a goal to be reached as soon as competence for it is attained. A system of periodic review shall be encouraged with the object of recording progress made and making appropriate changes. The form of self-government shall be that best suited to the traditions and circumstances of the people. Such form as may be chosen should be moulded with the object of securing the three essentials of democratic government, namely (a) free selection of representatives, (b) free discussion, and (c) the acceptance of majority decision."

Part IV of the convention outlines a scheme of international supervision. This includes an International Commission (somewhat on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission) which should receive and publish reports, decide disputes, and be equipped with a permanent secretariat, to include experts on colonial affairs and colonial representatives. It would have powers to make recommendations "for financing development by international co-operation and for regulating the production and marketing of colonial products, with the object especially of increasing consumption, avoiding booms and catastrophic falls in prices and of maintaining price levels which will ensure a reasonable standard of living for colonial people." Finally, provision is made for the submission of disputes between the International Colonial Commission and the State administering the colony to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

An International Colonial Commission charged with functions of the kind previously entrusted to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League is a basic feature of many plans for the future of the colonies and is clearly of great importance from the point of view of the effective maintenance of colonial conventions. How much real power is given to such a Commission and how much it is to be forced to depend on moral sanctions depends partly on the willingness of colonial powers to accept practical controls on their policy and partly on

the willingness of other powers to accept new responsibilities for colonial territories. The following passage from the report of the 8th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Quebec in December 1942, brings out the point at issue.

The British delegates pointed out with a force and logic which the other delegates were bound to recognise that there cannot be a divorce of power from responsibility. If the present colonial powers are to remain solely responsible for the security of the peoples concerned and for their economic and social progress, then it is obvious that they cannot accept direction from outside parties which involve those parties in no collateral responsibilities. If, however, the larger of the outside parties were prepared to accept, as part of an international system, their proportionate share of responsibility for the security and economic development of the peoples concerned, the feeling of the group was that the Colonial powers should and would be prepared to grant wider than merely advisory powers to the International Authorities."

The policy for the South-East Asia dependencies which emerged from the deliberations of the various national representatives at this Pacific conference, involved the formation of an International Authority which should represent independent nations and colonial peoples as well as the colonial powers in the region. It should review the progress made in the development of self-governing institutions and in the improvement of standards of living, and should receive and publish periodic reports thereon. It should maintain a technical staff capable of advising the administrations concerned on social and economic problems and empowered to undertake inspection and the investigation of grievances. It should also act as a co-ordinating agency on problems of economic and social policy and development, by organising joint consultation and co-operative action and promoting so far as possible a common policy.

## Regionalism

It has already been noted that the Colonial Secretary visualises a working system of international co-operation by regions. A footnote to the International Colonial Convention discussed above suggests that the proposed International Colonial Commission should set up Regional Sub-Committees. Regional development of colonial areas has, in fact, been proposed by many sections of opinion as a solution for political, economic and military problems. Dr. Rita Hinden in a pamphlet on "The Colonies and Us" visualises as the ultimate aim the establishment of

"large, strong and stable areas of the world's surface within which all nations and peoples freely collaborate. Within these areas, or federations, or commonwealths, or unions, each unit will have 'self-government' except in those matters of major policy which are clearly the concern of the whole area."

For those colonies which are not yet equipped for the task of self-government, however, it will be necessary to formulate a short-term programme which keeps this long-term object in view. The previously-mentioned P.E.P. broad-

sheet on Colonies (20.1.42) pointed out that the tropical dependencies fall naturally into distinctive regions:

"Thus a regional treatment will be important as the basis for long-term policy. In particular, we may hope and anticipate that self-government or 'Dominion Status' will eventually be achieved by the regions as wholes, not separately by the various territories or even by sub-regions. As a step in this direction administrative unification could with advantage be carried out in the near future in several areas (e.g. in West and East Africa and the West Indies), thus preventing the dangers of so-called Balkanisation in the tropics. At the other geographical extreme the uninhabited but huge area of Antarctica might well be internationalised immediately to prevent future friction and as a symbol of world co-operation. Special arrangements involving the more intimate collaboration of non-European Powers (notably the U.S.A. and some of the Dominions) will be needed in the two major colonial regions, the Caribbean and the Pacific, and also in the Malayan region, if, as seems desirable, the Philippines are integrated into its organisation. The British Government has already announced that guidance to Ethiopia in economic and political matters should be the subject of international agreement at the conclusion of the peace. American participation in this is much to be desired, both on the merits of the scheme and, as a possible means of persuading the U.S.A. to assume a share of responsibility for the development of Africa in general."

The rights and duties of a suggested regional international authority for South-East Asia have already been outlined in the preceding section. Lord Hailey, in his opening speech at the Quebec Conference, suggested a Pacific Zone Council on these lines. The section of the conference which concerned itself with political and military problems put forward ideas for a collective security system on a regional basis and suggested a Pacific Area Regional Council with three main functions:

1. "The task of creating conditions in which irritants to the security of the region would not arise, in other words, the task of establishing the conditions of peace;
2. "The task of resolving disputes at their source and as soon as they arise, which implies a system of conciliation and arbitration;
3. "The job of employing force when necessary; the exercise, in other words, of police power."

It was suggested that the Council's police force might wear a uniform of the United Nations, and would consist primarily of air and naval units based upon strategically located areas. Membership would be granted to colonial areas as they attained independence.

General Smuts has suggested a system of regional councils for Africa. In a speech to the Empire Parliamentary Association in December, 1943 he said:

"The time has come when it is necessary to reduce the number of independent colonial units, to abolish a number of these separate administrations scattered pell-mell over the Colonial Empire, and to reduce the consequent expenditure which is a burden on the local peoples, many of them very poor, undeveloped and with very small resources. It is a heavy burden on them and their slender resources might be devoted to better purpose than carrying on a heavy administrative machine, perhaps beyond their capacity."

He elaborated this idea with special reference to Africa. "There it seems to me quite a feasible proposition to group the British Colonies and Territories into definite groups. You have West Africa, you have East Africa, and you have Southern Africa. It is quite possible to group these Colonies into larger units, each under a Governor-General, and abolish not a few of them that need not continue to enjoy a separate existence. In many of these cases of colonial reorganisation you will find that it is quite possible to bring these new groups closer to a neighbouring Dominion and thereby interest the Dominion in the Colonial group. Perhaps to begin with nothing more is needed than merely an organized system of conferences between them, where they could meet and exchange ideas, and by means of which they could settle common policies, discuss common interests, and in that way link up the Dominions and the Colonies with the mother country in a common, more fruitful co-operation."

### The Machinery of Economic Development

The idea of regional organization appears also where economic and social problems are discussed. The success of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a public enterprise which undertook the economic and social planning of a backward area of the United States, has done much to inspire proposals for similar authorities for the colonies. P.E.P., for example, suggested in its broadsheet *Regional Development Authorities* (R.D.A.'s) under international supervision, with functions of the kind exercised by the T.V.A. These R.D.A.'s should be financed partly by loans supervised by a Colonial Investments Board, and partly by loans direct from an international Central Fund. The interest and sinking fund charges would be met at first by grants-in-aid, and later by revenue from the newly developed economic activities of the region. The R.D.A. "would concern itself with development in every aspect, and where possible would operate through existing agencies, such as the local administration, missionary schools, etc."

Besides the Regional Development Agencies which should plan the development of backward areas on a geographically sound basis, P.E.P. visualises several other agencies of economic planning. Its broadsheet sets out the following economic ends:

"Economically speaking, the immediate aim is the transfer from a subsistence to a cash basis, the diversification of tropical economics and the general raising of income both territorial and individual, of local standards of life and, therefore, of purchasing power and taxable

capacity together with increased economic security. This can be facilitated by such means as the provision of roads, power, storage facilities, agricultural, veterinary, and marketing services. A conservation programme should be undertaken for tsetse, locust and other pest control, soil erosion, water supplies, forestry and wild life, with the provision of National Parks as a stimulus to the tourist industry. Such assets cannot be adequately provided at present either by ordinary commercial methods or within the limits of existing government finance and administrative machinery. They can only be brought within reach by using all available finance for investment of a prosperity-creating nature. Investment must be concentrated at the points where it can be most effective in releasing productive energies, not only in working for export, but in producing simple things needed by the local population. Local industries of appropriate type should be developed (e.g. the local tile industry in the Gold Coast), not discouraged as is still frequent under the influence of mercantilist ideas. In view of the growing problem of over-production of various tropical crops (e.g. cocoa, oil seeds), it is essential that steps be taken to institute international marketing schemes designed to increase consumption (as has been done with tea) and to diversify production in single-crop areas. It is further essential that the economy of tropical regions shall be integrated with that of more advanced countries, e.g. through international commodity control schemes."

From this statement of ends P.E.P. goes on to approve the following machinery for financing and administering colonial development:

"The proper financing of colonial development can only be undertaken by a combination of the following methods: (1) Out of local profits and revenues, (2) by loans or grants-in-aid from the colonial power responsible for administration, (3) by loans or grants-in-aid from the portion of the central fund of the international authority, to be administered by the international colonial commission, (4) by private finance."

"In the majority of areas some measure of help by direct grants-in-aid will be necessary not only for social services but also for improved marketing facilities and for the establishment of local industries. Subsidies to this or that industry should in general be avoided; direct contributions to capital equipment and social services are preferable."

"It is desirable that a Colonial Investment Board should be attached to the international Colonial Commission through which body private finance could be influenced and guided into the channels most suitable for achieving colonial development. The chief types of large-scale development agencies required will be (1) Government Administration as at present, (2) International Public Concerns, operating for profit under licence, (3) co-operative producer agencies, usually with Government aid or participation (e.g. the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation in the Sudan), (4) marketing agencies associated with international commodity control schemes, (5) Regional Development Agencies not operating for profit. Private trading and unregulated profit-making concerns should be subject to regulations embodying agreed standards of social welfare, conservation, and planned development. Existing large-scale enterprises should over a period of years be required to conform to the pattern of International Public Concerns."

"Where a local surplus is available and can find a profitable external market, a form of International Public Concern might be started. Since such concerns inevitably exert a predominant influence on all aspects of the life of territories which they serve, it is desirable that they should be subject to welfare and conservation regulations approved by the Colonial Commission. Further, to prevent the draining of wealth out of the territory and the exploitation of the local inhabitants, all profits above a limited figure must be returned to the area, an agreed proportion being set aside for social, educational and health improvement (on the same principle as the Miners' Welfare Fund in Britain) and the remainder placed at the disposal of the central Colonial Fund for further development either

in the same area or elsewhere. This general ploughing-back of any excess profits from the backward areas is essential if their progress is not to be unduly retarded. The finance and non-local personnel of such Public Concerns should be as international as possible. Business enterprise under an I.P.C. Scheme would not be restricted to any simple pattern. It might range from the large-scale production of a single mineral (e.g. copper, cryolite) or crop (e.g. tea, sisal) to co-operative small-scale producer organisations (e.g. for cocon, jute or cotton). It might concern itself with general trading activity along chartered company lines or with the all-round development of a region for production as well as trading. Direct Government representation or participation might sometimes be desirable, whether to guarantee efficient operation or to protect general welfare."

## The Development of Human Resources

The development of the economic resources of the colonies must, however, be accompanied by adequate development of the available human resources. One of the first essentials in this programme of development must be a plan to raise the physical and mental standards of well-being. The P.E.P. broadsheet emphasises the need for special campaigns against malaria, hookworm and other parasitic diseases and for special educational campaigns devoted to health and agricultural subjects. It adds:

"In relation to a properly thought-out population policy, birth-control facilities will be needed in many tropical countries. In some cases the material environment may be so backward or so badly damaged by soil erosion that large-scale transfer of populations may have to be undertaken if the claims of human welfare and long-term economic policy are not in conflict.

"Education is also essential for training personnel for technical and administrative posts of whatever grade, including teachers, as well as for commercial and professional careers. A wrong type of educational expansion, however, may be dearly purchased; a superficial veneer is no safeguard against barbaric regression in circumstances of stress. It is also important to prevent the growth of a jobless and discontented native intelligentsia.

"It is important to remedy the backwardness of women's education, as not until children can be brought up in an educated family atmosphere can we expect to reap the full benefits of any school system or to make an effective counter to the critics who maintain that tropical peoples are inherently backward, and incapable of really profiting from education.

"Education in the broad sense also has an important part to play in mitigating the bad effects so frequently resulting from the impact of a white civilisation on a backward culture. The work now being carried on by the Arts and Crafts Department at Achimota in the Gold Coast has shown how local cultural and artistic development can be encouraged by grafting western technique on to indigenous roots. It has been suggested that the experiment be extended to include not only arts and crafts, but also the sociological field of tribal institutions and ways of living. This would virtually be a 'sociological extension service' and would have the task of finding out what representative native thought considered most valuable in their own social organisation, what innovations were needed, and where measures taken by the administration merited criticism. An important development of such a service would be the establishment of schools of Social and Economic Survey and Research, which at relatively little expense would canalise the enthusiasm and intelligence of the native élite as they became sufficiently trained, would carry out field experiments, social as well

as agricultural, and would thus lay a basis for an orderly development of social policy. Only through some such methods can we expect the growth of healthy patriotism and of vital local cultures conscious of making a distinctive contribution to world civilisation." P.E.P. advocates that "integration of higher education (including research) in European countries with that in the colonies" which Colonel Stanley (quoted on p. 60) has called an intellectual Lend-Lease. It adds: "Such a scheme could be tackled at once on the national level by the colonial powers, and could be put on an increasingly international footing later."

The need, not merely to share with colonial peoples the advantages of more advanced communities, but to help them to help themselves, has been emphasised by many other writers. In her pamphlet on 'The Colonies and Us', Dr. Hinden writes:

"No matter how good, how well-planned any project or scheme of development may be, if it is imposed automatically from the top, it cannot have a happy meaning in the lives of the people whom it is designed to benefit. Despotism, whether benevolent or malevolent, remains despotism, and cannot breed a warm response. The colonial peoples must control their own destinies. That is the crux of the matter."

The Adult and Mass Education Sub-Committee and the Advisory Committee on Education have developed this point in a practical way. In its report published in December, 1943, on Mass-Education in African Society, it said:

"Nothing is more frustrating than the sense of being the plaything of impersonal forces, and nothing is more contrary to the spirit of democracy. The democratic state depends upon the ability of its people to exercise both selection and conservation amid the changing features of social and economic life. But this ability to select and to conserve needs that knowledge, disciplined reasoning, and insight, which will be secured and can only be secured by the development of the education of the whole mass of the community."

It summarised its conclusions as to the objectives which should be kept in view, thus:

1. The wide extension of schooling for children with the goal of universal education within a measurable time;
2. The spread of literacy among adults, together with a widespread development of literature and libraries, without which there is little hope of making literacy permanent;
3. The planning of mass education of the community as a movement of the community itself, involving the active support of the local community from the start;
4. The effective co-ordination of welfare plans and mass education plans so that they form a comprehensive and balanced whole."

It was suggested that the Secretary of State should request the Colonial Governors "to submit as soon as possible, their proposals for the elimination of illiteracy within the next two or three decades."

The Sub-Committee recommended the application of what it called the "project or campaign method" of education to particular communities:

"We propose that in any given community the 'curriculum' of the mass education scheme should be planned in relation to the main obstacles to progress in that area. We have in mind that in a five-year plan for a given area the following problems might be chosen for attack through the mass education curriculum: ignorance of a particular agricultural technique or system; the decay of local crafts and industries; prodigal waste of forest resources; sub-

health due to disease or malnutrition; a high infantile mortality rate; juvenile delinquency; ignorance of the value and use of money. But whilst teaching both in reading and writing and technical subjects would be focused probably on a single project for a given period within a wider five-year plan, it would not be effective in a genuinely educational sense unless it made frequent reference to many kindred subjects. For example, teaching designed to reduce the incidence of a disease would involve supplementary teaching on general health subjects, and on food, housing and water supplies.

"The procedure of selecting outstanding problems would give a purpose to the teaching of the three R's and of all other techniques and subjects, which would be readily appreciated by the community, and by all engaged in mass education work. It would, in effect, provide targets at which a community could be persuaded to aim, and if the initial layers were not too distant, and if they represented relatively simple projects, some satisfaction would be given at an early stage to a community's desire to change some of the conditions which govern its life.

"... it should be possible, for example, to aim in two to three years at getting all children into school, all illiterate adults below a fixed age into reading and writing classes, all the households working at certain prescribed health and agricultural improvements, a general stimulation of local political interest and activity, and increased recreational facilities of many kinds."

Finally, the Sub-Committee recommended the increased production of cheap literature for both teachers and pupils, the establishment of local printing presses, adequate facilities for distributing literature, libraries equipped with trained librarians, and the use of up-to-date techniques such as are provided by the cinema, the wireless, pictorial material, posters and so on.

Colour-bar policies and other forms of racial and religious discrimination represent a refusal to utilise and to assist in developing the available human resources to their fullest capacity. The Labour Party in a pamphlet on the Colonies which outlines the Party's post-war policy for the African and Pacific Colonies urges a vigorous anti-colour-bar policy:

"Wherever it exists in territories for which Parliament is responsible, the laws and administrative practices on which it rests must be immediately abolished, and Governors of colonial territories should be instructed to see that everything of legal or administrative discrimination (whether by disabilities or privileges) on the ground of race, colour or religion, must cease. Further, Parliament should refuse to resign its responsibility for and control over any territory in Africa unless it is assured that the colour-bar will not be introduced there in any form.

"The colour-bar system is so insidious and can take so many forms that a general renunciation of it by Governments is not enough, and specific instructions on specific measures to be taken against it should be given to all Colonial Governments. The following are some of the most important of such measures which should be taken at the earliest possible moment after the War:

"(1) Discrimination, directly or indirectly involving inequality in political machinery, representation and responsibility on the grounds of race must be progressively abolished.

"(2) All racial discrimination in the fiscal system should be abolished.

"(3) All restrictions on the right to own, buy, lease or sell land on racial grounds (other than restrictions devised to protect the Natives as backward peoples) must be abolished.

"(4) State funds shall not be granted to any school or educational establishment entry to which is restricted upon racial grounds.

"(5) Safety regulations, in so far as they are used to

keep a colour-bar in force, should be amended.

"(6) Registration of Trade Unions imposing a colour-bar should be refused.

"(7) Colonial Administrations should be instructed to set an example in Government services (postal, telegraphic, etc.) of good wages and conditions for Africans and to provide technical education and training for Africans in order to break down the economic colour-bar where it exists and prevent its extension to other colonial territories.

"(8) Grants of imperial funds should not be made for schemes which benefit the economic interests of small racial minorities."

In pursuance of this ideal of full utilisation of the available human resources it is important that the best human material from outside the colonies, as well as from within, should be employed as far as possible in the planning of their future. The report to the Fabian Colonial Bureau on "Downing Street and the Colonies" emphasised the narrow field from which colonial office and colonial service officials are chosen. It recommended that:

"The examination for the Colonial Service should be conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners, and might be combined with the Home Civil Service exams in the same way as is the Indian Civil Service. We recognise the value of a broad liberal and cultural education, though we feel that not enough consideration is given to the social sciences. But until the examination system is adopted the objections to the present system can partly be met by guaranteeing appointments only to persons of a certain educational standard, and by giving successful recruits a year or more of special training before starting on their job."

This report went on to suggest an extended period of training for successful recruits which included broader studies of a social and economic kind, travelling scholarships both inside the Colonial Empire and to the territories of other powers, and refresher courses.

The P.E.P. broadsheet went further in broadening the basis of colonial service recruits and proposed an International Staff College:

"Administration would remain in the hands of the existing colonial powers, but a small proportion of technical posts should be at once thrown open to qualified men of any nationality, the selection to remain in the hands of the existing power. This proportion should be gradually increased and as men trained in the colonial section of the International Staff College began to be available, the process might be extended to administrative posts."

## Plans from Colonial Peoples

It has constantly been emphasised in suggesting solutions for the colonial problem that colonial peoples themselves must make a full contribution to the planning of their future. So far, however, illiteracy has rendered many of them inarticulate and it is difficult to find reconstruction programmes of a sufficiently general application emanating from the native peoples. When they do express themselves it is usually on a local problem. On the other hand, their local problems may be common. Many

Africans, for example, would agree with the following passage from a memorandum submitted in 1934 to the Kenya Land Commission by the Progressive Kikuyu Party:

"Our cultivation does not improve because our system has been overturned by the advent of the Europeans. We would, therefore, beg the members of the Commission that they consider well how they can help us that we may have better gardens producing crops for export, and better grazing lands, with sheep that produce wool and good cattle producing much milk. That we have not these things is not due to our stupidity, as some think, but to the smallness of our land."

In the more advanced areas of Africa native trade unions, journalists or students may express the aspirations of colonial peoples. The Federated Trade Union of Nigeria, for example, in a manifesto issued in 1943, claimed the following rights for colonial workers:

"a. Unalloyed blessings of a modern and benign democratic Government, in part consisting of

1. full citizenship;
2. free collective bargaining;
3. free articulation, subject only to ordinary rules of courtesy;
4. timely consultation on labour and kindred matters;
5. logical wage schemes;
6. equality of opportunities and privileges;
7. protection against ignorance, want, disease, and exploitation.

b. Continuity of employment as a counterpart of compulsory service.

c. Protection against victimisation in all its dreadful forms, and provision of a Conciliation Board as a means of investigating complaints.

d. A guarantee against intrusion by unauthorised persons or agents into the privacy of Trade Unions or kindred labour organisations.

e. Reasonable respite in the form of periodical leave and adequate leisure and recreation.

f. Guarantee against labour laws being unilateral in scope.

g. Guarantee of substantial gratuity on retiring through certified physical incapacity after five years of unbroken service.

h. Guarantee of adequate compensation for incapacitation emanating from occupational contingencies.

j. Guarantee of pensions on retiring through either old age or certified physical

incapacity after ten years of unbroken service.

k. Unemployment benefits."

In September 1943, when Colonel Oliver Stanley visited West Africa, a memorandum for submission to the King was presented to him through the Governor of the Gold Coast by the sixty-three Provincial Councils, all the Paramount and Divisional Chiefs who constitute the Ashanti Confederacy Council, and the African members of the Gold Coast Legislative Council. They claimed that the present constitution "has served its usefulness as a step towards the grant of representative and responsible government." They asked for a new constitution and suggested the lines which they thought it should follow. The following extracts from this memorandum show the kind of proposals which they made.

"The constitution of the Legislative Council provides for an official majority of one in a House of Members. The elected Africans are always without hope of expressing by vote the wish of the people to oppose unpopular or undesirable legislation.

"The 1925 constitution is defective in that there is no organic connection between the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. Although the Executive acts like a 'committee' of the Legislative Council, it is not, in fact, responsible to the Legislature. The time has come for the 'Committee' or 'Cabinet' which initiates legislation to be itself responsible to the Council which passes such legislation into law. The Executive Council requires to be so reconstituted that the elected representatives of the people will have a majority voice on it, as they will have also on the Legislative Council.

"It is proposed that the important office of securing and maintaining internal peace in the country should not be in the hands of a civil servant who cannot be removed on failure of his policy. The Secretaryship for Native Affairs should be abolished. In its place there should be created a Ministry for Home Affairs to be in charge of a Minister responsible to the elected majority of the Legislative Council.

"Indirect rule should, by definition, be indirect and not otherwise. It embodies or should embody the increasing elimination of duality of control, visualising only a single canalised authority, avoiding the dual channel, one direct and strongly centralised colonial power, the other by-passed and weakly exercised by or through the Aboriginal Authority. The larger and ultimate purpose of Colonial policy is the relinquishment or increasing elimination of Colonial

authority in favour of a locally constituted source of power in what is known as self-government. Only by increasingly diminishing the area of duality can convergence into a single channel be realised for implementation of that larger or ultimate purpose."

In territories where there is an active political life and a relatively high degree of literacy—in the West Indies, for instance—there are political parties with programmes of their own. The General Council of the People's National Party of Jamaica, for example, submitted a statement of policy for the approval of the Party Conference in August 1943. It put forward the following "basic outlines of the five key points in economic planning":

"a. A positive land policy for the proper

distribution, use and development of the land of the country.

b. An immediate and comprehensive policy for the control of all exports of agricultural products, linked up with import regulation and control of foreign balances.

c. The development of local industries to utilise productive resources to the full.

d. The creation and maintenance of full employment at adequate wage rates.

e. The creation of a State Bank."

Its constitutional programme included points such as these:

The encouragement and expansion of the Ministerial System whereby the political responsibility for administrative departments of Government will be progressively granted to members of the House of Representatives.

The establishment during the five-years period of the constitution of an independent non-political Civil Service Commission established by the Island Legislature to control the Civil Service of the country."

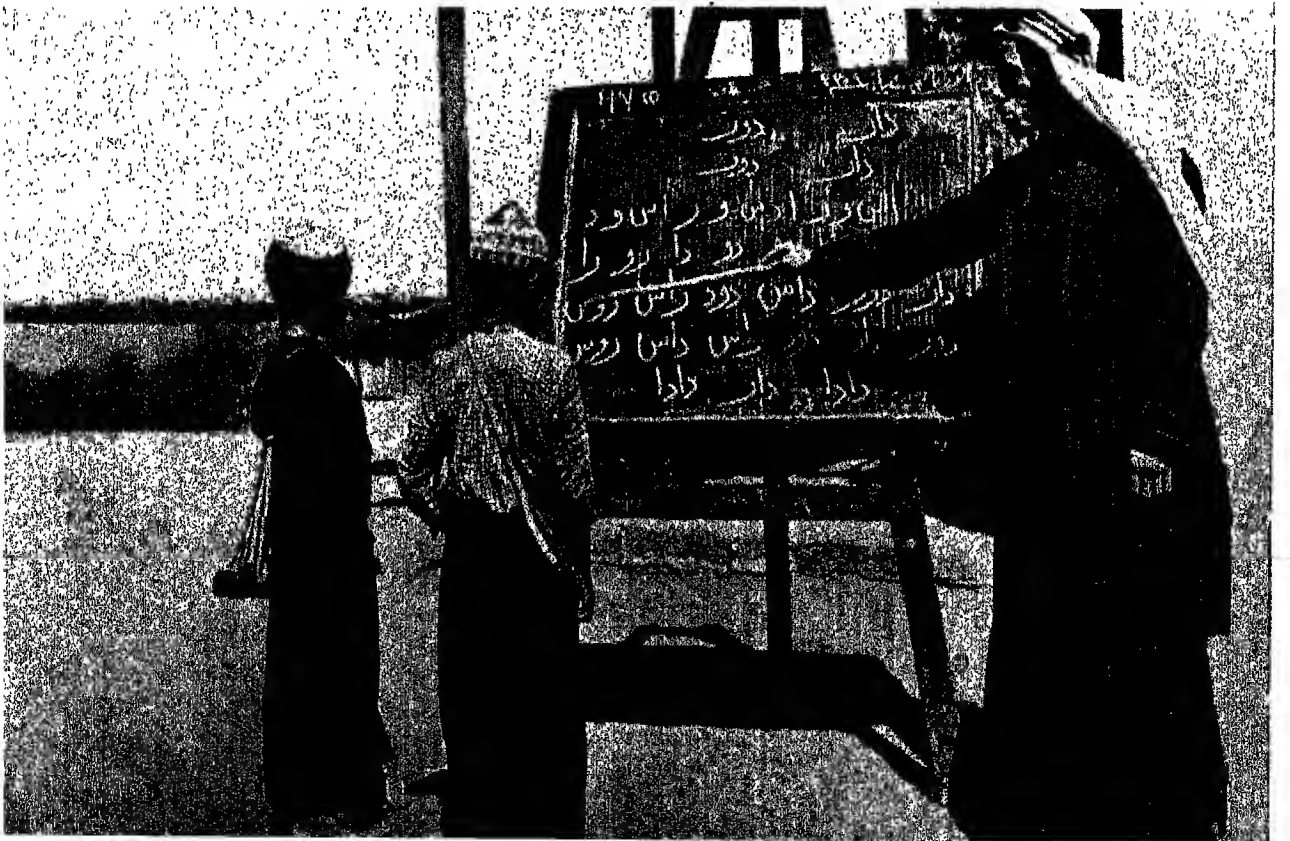
*Teachers' Staff Meetings at a girl's boarding school (LAGOS)*







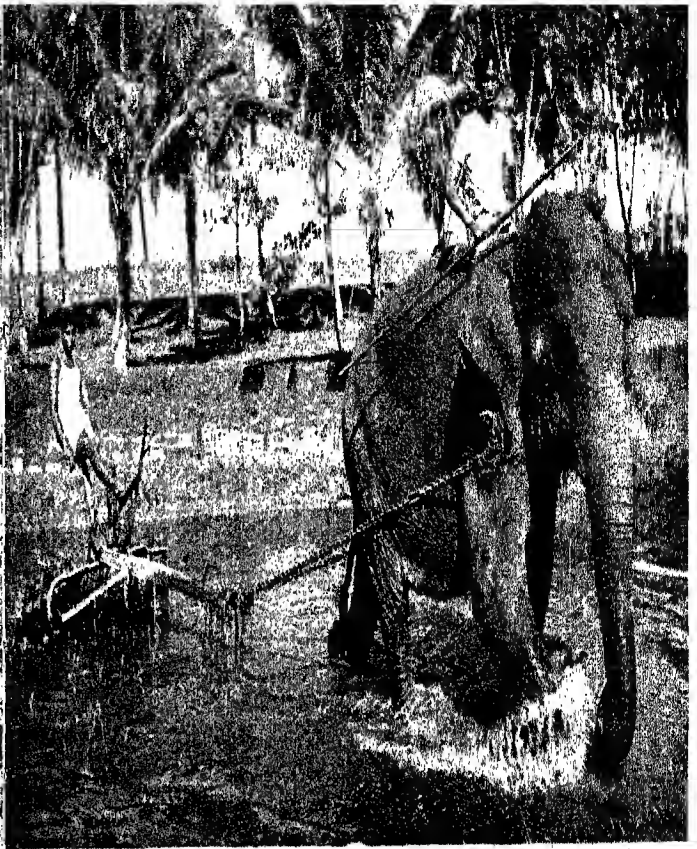
ABOVE — Chinese schoolgirls play basket ball during a break (SINGAPORE).  
BELOW — Learning the alphabet (PALESTINE).





*Old methods continue in agriculture and handicrafts.*

ABOVE — Talense women harvesting guinea corn.  
BELOW — A native weaver on the Gold Coast.



*Modern methods however are rapidly spreading.*

ABOVE — An Elephant-drawn steel plough in Ceylon.  
BELOW — A Gold Coast tailor at work.



# A TARGET FOR THE COLONIES

FROM what has been said, two main points emerge. First that, as compared with the rest of the world, the great majority of the world's colonies and their inhabitants are seriously backward in material equipment, health, education and social organization. And secondly, that among the more advanced peoples a new attitude towards colonies is arising: they are realising that it is not only their duty but also, in the long run, in their material interests to help the colonies towards equality of status and standards, in the economic and social as well as in the political spheres.

The new attitude towards colonies is part of the new attitude towards human problems in general, international as well as domestic, political and cultural as well as social and economic: it is in fact part of the revolution of ideas and practice through which the world is now living.

This new attitude is already being reflected in colonial policy, perhaps especially in that of Britain. It should be our aim to consider colonial policy in the light of the new principles of thought and action which are being hammered out in the revolution of our times.

For one thing, colonial policy cannot be framed in a separate water-tight compartment of its own: it must be related to policy in other fields. It is inseparably bound up with general measures for peace and military security; and as inseparably with general measures for increasing world prosperity. It is also related to our domestic policy. Thus a rise in the economic level of the colonial peoples will help our own economy (provided we make certain adjustments in it) to run more smoothly and at fuller capacity in the future, but on the other hand the immediate claims of the colonies for equipment, trained personnel, and capital investment will be to a certain degree in conflict with those of our own country, and a balance must be struck between them in the years immediately after the war.

In the second place we need a careful analysis of the present revolutionary process, so that we may be able to isolate the inevitable trends from their accidental or temporary accompaniments; we need a full study of its various implications

and possible future developments, so that we can disentangle the desirable from the undesirable among them. Otherwise we may find ourselves adopting merely *ad hoc* measures which in the long run turn out to be disastrous or self-defeating.

In what follows an attempt is made to work out in some detail the implications of the new colonial policy for the next one or two generations on the basis of reasonably favourable assumptions as to international collaboration for peace and prosperity, and finally to give a briefer and more general summary of what must be a minimum target of principle.

We may divide our target under three heads. First, international. Here we summarize such measures for international co-operation over the colonial problem, as we could reasonably hope for in the period after the war. Secondly, we have proposals for developments within British colonial territories. The extent to which these can be carried out, and the particular methods to be adapted in so doing, will depend on the degree to which the international co-operation is effected: but this section in any case remains as an independent target for our own colonies. Thirdly, there are suggestions for such changes within Great Britain itself, as affect our policy for colonies, our administration of them, and our general attitude towards them. These again are partly dependent on the success of the international measures taken, but not to so great an extent as those in the second category.

## A INTERNATIONAL

### I. General

(1) *World Organisation.* Any satisfactory international arrangements concerning colonies must be conditional on the existence of some world-scale international organization concerned both with security (freedom from fear) and economic advancement (freedom from want). In such an organization, the co-operation of the four Great Powers is indispensable.

(2) *International Staff College.* It is much to be hoped that an International Staff College will be established to train personnel for inter-

national posts, in a suitable atmosphere.

This International Staff College should have a Colonial Section.

(3) *International Personnel.* Arrangements should be made, if possible by international convention (*see below*), for the employment by each colonial power in its colonial services of a certain number of nationals of other countries. This selection and appointment should remain in the hands of the power responsible for administration (*see below*). The experiment should be begun with a small number of technical posts, the percentage to be gradually increased; if this were successful, administrative posts also could be thrown open to nationals of other countries. Such personnel should receive some of their training in the colonial section of the International Staff College.

## II. Regional

(4) *Regionalism.* It appears almost certain that the World Organization will operate largely through Regional Authorities. Of these we may eventually anticipate between 6 and 12, some of them perhaps divided into sub-regions. From the colonial angle, therefore, our problem is to see that the interests of the colonial peoples are safeguarded in any Regional Authority, and their adequate participation ensured.

(5) *The Regional Authority: Constitution.* The Regional Authority should represent (1) the independent nations within the region; (2) such great powers as have special strategic or economic interests in the region; (3) such nations as have colonies in the region; (4) one or more nations without colonies or special interests in the region; (5) representatives of the colonial peoples within the region.

(6) *The Regional Authority: Staff and Organisation.* The Regional Authority should have a council, a permanent secretariat, an agency dealing with the issue of grants for social and economic development, a staff of research workers and experts, and an inspectorate.

(7) *The Regional Authority: Powers.* Executive responsibility for colonial legislation and administration must remain with the existing colonial powers. However, if the Great Powers, through the World Organization or otherwise, are willing to undertake their due share of the responsibility for world security and economic and social development, the Regional Authority should

be entrusted with wide powers of advice, review, inspection and finance. It should have

- (a) the duty of regular consultation and discussion concerning the political, military and social problems of the region;
- (b) the right of suggesting the general lines of policy as regards the direction and tempo of advance towards self-government and of social and economic development;
- (c) the right to investigate on the spot any grievances presented by any indigenous group;
- (d) the right to make periodic inspections of colonial territories within the area;
- (e) the right to demand periodic reports on the advance of the colonial peoples within the region towards self-government and on social welfare and economic development;
- (f) the duty of publishing these reports, and those of its inspectors, together with its own comments;
- (g) the power to offer grants towards the social and economic development of backward areas, including colonial territories;
- (h) the power to set up publicly-financed Development Agencies covering the national or colonial territory of more than one power.

If the nations of the world, and particularly the Great Powers, are unwilling to guarantee adequate measures for military security and economic advancement, the Regional Authority would be restricted to consultative and advisory powers.

## III. A Colonial Charter

(8) *Immediate Desirability.* Britain and the U.S.A., in association with the other colonial powers among the United Nations, should at the earliest opportunity proclaim a Colonial Charter to supplement the Atlantic Charter in relation to colonial problems. Other like-minded nations, whether colonial powers or not, should be encouraged to subscribe to it.

(9) *Provisions.* The Colonial Charter should lay down the following provisions:

- (a) Colonial territories are held in trust, and their peoples are associated in partnership with those of the signatories to the Charter, and in particular with those of the particular colonial power responsible for administration in each case.
- (b) The primary aim of the trusteeship is to

hensive policy is required for each region, envisaging as its ultimate goal the complete survey of all natural resources—soil, animal and crop products, forestry, game and wild life, fisheries, minerals, underground water, irrigation water, hydro-electric power, etc.

(33) *National Parks, etc.* The immediate establishment in each major region of one National Park, where the preservation of natural scenery and wild life is paramount; the encouragement of the interest of the local inhabitants in these projects, and the facilitation of tourist traffic. Botanical gardens, open-air zoos, and natural history exhibits and museums are also needed.

(34) *Wild Life.* More attention is needed for a careful policy aimed at the conservation of game, sporting and commercial fish, and wild life in general, and at enlisting the interest and sympathy of the local inhabitants in such a policy.

(35) *River-basins.* Comprehensive schemes to be worked out, where necessary in co-operation with neighbouring territories, for planned utilization of the water-resources of entire river-basins, in relation especially to hydro-electricity, irrigation, flood-control, and navigation.

(36) *Forestry.* A firm forestry policy to be worked out (a) to safeguard an adequate proportion of the natural forests from destruction, (b) to convert other parts of the natural forests into plantation forests, (c) to plant trees in deforested or treeless areas. The co-operation and interest of the local inhabitants must be obtained, large forest reserves and forest parks established, and the unnecessary destruction of trees prevented.

(37) *Minerals.* All mineral rights to be taken over by the Government.

## VII. Land and Settlement

(38) *Alienation of Land.* No further land to be alienated to white settlers or other immigrants, or to commercial companies. Leases of land, e.g. to commercial companies, to be short-term (not more than thirty to sixty years).

(39) *White Settlement.* Further white or other foreign settlement in predominantly non-white territories to be discouraged or prohibited. A careful survey to be made of the problem of the white settlers in various regions to determine whether a policy of buying up their rights and returning the land to the native population is

desirable or possible (cf. the buying out of the slave-owners in the West Indies in 1838). Such a policy might be more practicable in some areas (e.g. Tanganyika), less so in other (e.g. Northern Rhodesia).

## VIII. Education and Culture

(40) *General Policy.* A firm educational and cultural policy to be worked out, laying down (a) that education should be related to regional needs, but aimed at standards equivalent to those prevailing in the metropolitan country; (b) that the immediate goal should be general literacy, coupled with an educational ladder leading to higher education of university standard within each region; (c) that each region should be encouraged to develop its own culture, based on its history and its geographical peculiarities, but enriched by western techniques, ideas, and scientific knowledge.

(41) *Compulsory Education.* Compulsory universal education within at most two generations should be the goal of policy.

(42) *Educational Personnel, Buildings and Equipment.* A series of four-year plans is required to produce the requisite native-born teaching personnel, together with the school buildings, books and equipment, together with the requisite school buildings, books and equipment, especially scientific equipment. Mission schools should be brought within the State system as soon as practicable.

(43) *Education for Self-Government.* The educational system should be designed to facilitate the progress of the area towards self-government: (a) by training selected local inhabitants as rapidly as possible for all technical and administrative posts, (b) by providing a general understanding of the political, social and economic problems of the area, and (c) by the entrusting of greater responsibility to Native Administrations, and then progressive democratization.

(44) *Interchange.* A high degree of interchange should be arranged for teachers and research workers between institutions of higher learning and research at home and in the colonies, and ample facilities, including hostels and vacation travel, provided in Britain for graduate students from the colonies.

(45) *Mass Education.* A series of experimental mass education campaigns should be immediately launched to work out the best techniques of obtaining popular co-operation in the im-



provement of health, social welfare and agriculture, etc., and of securing general literacy within the space of one or at most two generations.

(16) *Museums, etc.* Museums, films, travelling exhibitions, etc., are required, illustrating regional and local resources, culture and history, wherever possible in relation to those of western civilization and of the world.

(17) *Survey Personnel.* Local personnel to be trained to undertake the archaeological, historical, anthropological, natural history, art and other surveys necessary to provide the basis for a regional culture.

## IX. Economic

(18) *General Policy.* A general expansionist policy should be laid down aiming at the steady increase of consumption and purchasing power.

(19) *Development Plans.* A series of four-year plans for development, including communications, the establishment of processing plants and light and secondary industries, storage and warehousing, etc., are needed in all regions.

(20) *Development Agencies.* In suitable areas, Public Development Agencies should be envisaged, to undertake general planned development. These could in some cases be financed by private capital, either directly or through an investment board, but in other cases, where immediate returns are not likely, they will require public finance.

The areas selected should be natural regions (river basins, coastal strips with suitable hinterland, archipelagoes, etc.), even if this means the inclusion of territory of more than one colonial power, or of that of independent nations as well. Indeed, international co-operation in development agencies is to be welcomed. If the World Organisation, with its Regional Authorities, has funds at its disposal, adequate amounts should be provided for any such trans-national development agencies which are publicly financed, to supplement the grants from the separate Powers, e.g. on a £ for £ basis.

(21) *Experimental Development Schemes.* A series of experimental development agencies, including both privately and publicly financed schemes, should be set up immediately to gain experience under different conditions (e.g. an extension of the existing British and Anglo-American set-up in the Caribbean; an Upper and Middle Niger region; New Guinea, etc.).

## X. Financial

(52) *Salaries and Allowances.* The basic salaries of all posts in the Colonial service should be the same for all. Additional expatriation allowances should be paid to white staff, but the cost of these should be borne by the home Government.

(53) *Investment.* An increasing volume of the private capital required in the colonies should be made through a central Investment Board. This will apply especially to privately-financed Development Agencies (see above).

(54) *Commercial and Industrial Profits.* Steps must be taken to see that the major part of the returns on colonial commerce or industry are not drained off to the metropolitan country or other sources of foreign investment, but made available to be ploughed back for further development within the colonies. All companies and firms operating in the colonies, even if registered elsewhere, should pay all taxation, including income tax, to the colonial Governments. Profits leaving the country must be reduced to a reasonable minimum, either by the compulsory allotment of sums to the welfare of workers and of the locality in general, and/or by a rapidly increasing sliding tax-scale.

## XI. Progress towards Self-Government

(55) *Statement of Policy on Employment of Local Inhabitants in all Positions.* An official declaration is needed, laying down that in all colonies, all posts in the Government service, both technical and administrative, including the highest, are open to native-born members of the local population, subject only to proper qualifications; and that one aim of the educational system is to produce men and women with such qualifications.

(56) *Strengthening of Popular Representation.* Where western models exist, the proportion of elected representatives to be steadily increased. Where indirect rule prevails, experiments to be conducted along lines adapted to local conditions, to ensure greater popular participation in Government.

(57) *Meetings of Chiefs and Local Administrators.* Increased facilities to be provided for regular meetings, discussions, and conferences between the chiefs, important members of native administrations, and local Government officials, within provinces, territories, and major regions.

(58) *Regional Patriotism.* The growth of a

healthy regional patriotism to be encouraged, e.g. by education, by museums, drama, music, sport, by large-scale conferences and suitable ceremonials with provision of free or cheap travel facilities, etc.

(59) *Strengthening of Local Government and Local Patriotism.* Local governments and native administrations to be encouraged in every way to take on new activities (schools, hospitals, water-supply schemes, museums, etc.), so as to foster local initiative in government and local interest and pride in achievement.

## **XII. Utilization of Military Equipment, etc.**

(60) *Allocation of Equipment in the Colonies for Local Purposes.* Arrangements to be made whereby any military equipment now in the colonies shall be made available, if suitable, for use in the region, e.g. lorries and trucks, cinema projectors, stores, army huts and other buildings. Aerodromes and military camps to be surveyed to see whether they can be used for civilian purposes (civil flying, tourist traffic, hostels, etc.).

## **C - - IN BRITAIN**

### **I. Parliament and the Colonial Office**

(61) *Joint Standing Committee.* A Joint Standing Committee of both Houses of Parliament to be set up immediately to deal with colonial affairs.

(62) *Regional Delegation.* Larger powers to be delegated to Regional Authorities (Governors' Conferences, etc.) when set up. Frequent contact can now be assured through air transport, both for conferences in London and for visits of high officials from London.

(63) *Advisory Committees.* The already strong panel of Colonial Office Advisory Committees to be systematically completed: e.g. a Population Policy Committee is still lacking.

(64) *Interchange of Staff.* Much greater interchange of staff to be introduced between the Colonial Office and the Regional and Colonial administrations.

(65) *Refresher Courses and Study Leave.* Refresher courses of various types to be provided in Britain for members of the Colonial services;

promotion to be partly dependent on their results. Study leave facilities to be provided wherever a man's work would benefit.

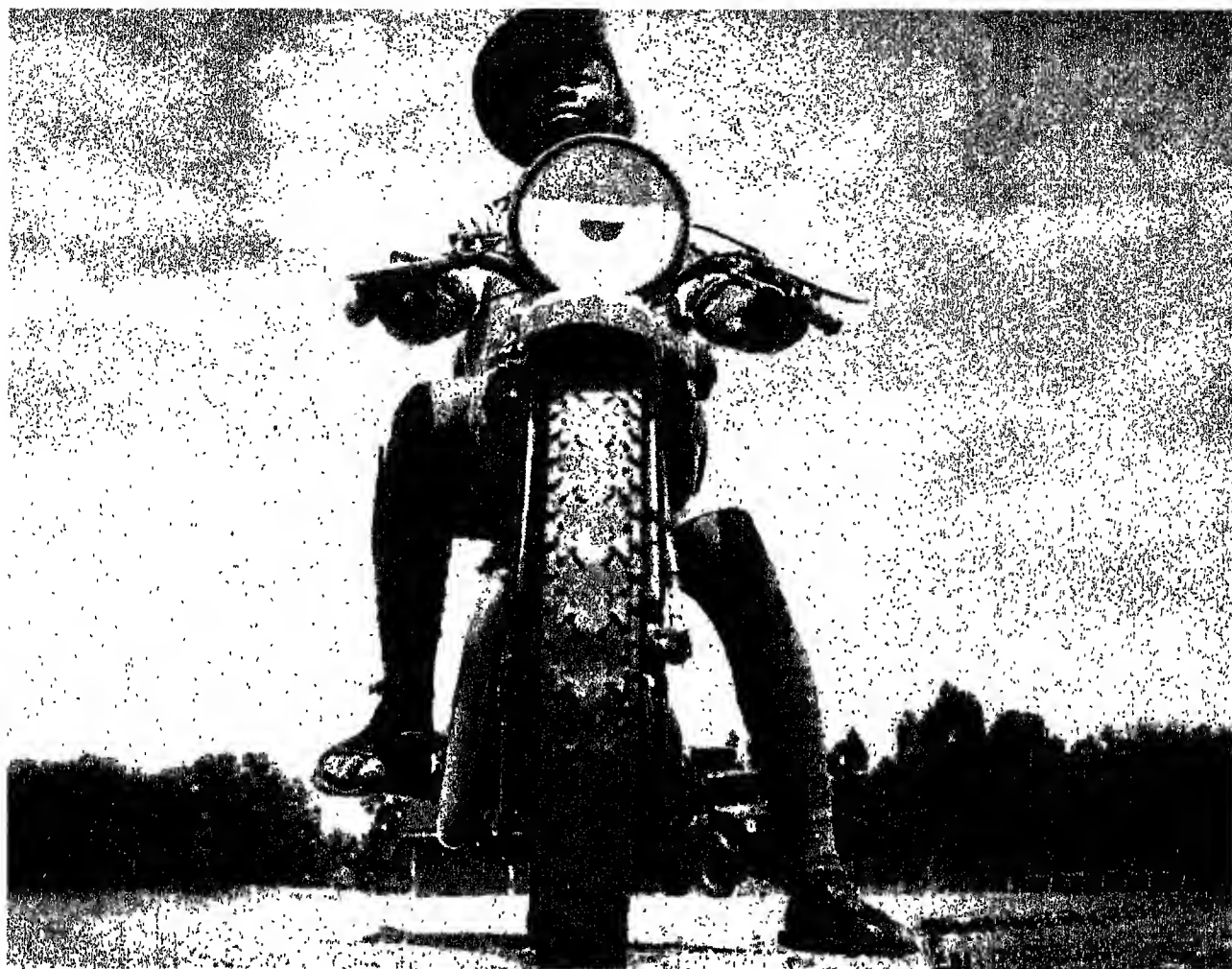
## **II. Public Interest**

(66) *General Interest.* Much greater information about the colonies is required in this country. It can be provided through various channels--the Colonial Office itself, the British Council, the Ministry of Information, or some special bureau set up for the purpose. Its provision requires all possible media--articles, photographs, pamphlets, material for schools, films, the commissioning of artists and writers, etc.

(67) *Special Information.* A centre of detailed information about the colonies is required. An alternative arrangement would be to cover the ground regionally: thus Lord Hailey in his African Survey recommends "the establishment of an African Bureau covering social, economic, scientific and administrative problems, which will constitute both a clearing house for information and a source of assistance to all those who are pursuing research or enquiry into African questions." Both methods might be continued, by providing international regional bureaux in various places, and general information centres on the colonial problems of each colonial power, in its own capital.

(68) *Museums and Exhibitions.* Museums and exhibitions are required specifically devoted to colonial history, economics and art. Present arrangements are illogical and confused, e.g. the vast quantity of material available in the British Museum needs sorting out (a) in relation to our colonies as against other territories, (b) functionally, by separating works of art from specimens of ethnological and economic interest. Special Galleries of Colonial Art, etc. by subject or by regions (e.g. the art of primitive peoples) oriental history, tropical Africa, Oceania, etc., may be preferable to a single comprehensive Colonial Museum. However, some central Colonial Museum or Pavilion where a small general exhibition and a succession of special exhibitions can be staged would seem to be essential.





*A West African despatch rider prepares to set off (GOLD COAST).*

## GENERAL TARGET

IN what has gone before, a target has been specified in considerable detail. We may conclude with a briefer summary of general aims.

1. The colonial problem must be regarded as part of the general international problem. Once a world organisation exists capable of guaranteeing peace and promoting general economic welfare, the development of colonial peoples towards self-government and eventual equality with other nations in social, educational and economic standards, can best be promoted within the framework of that organization.

2. Existing colonial powers should continue to exercise administrative responsibility, but subject to advice, review and inspection from the relevant Regional Authorities of the World Organization. They should appoint a proportion

of the nationals of other countries to their colonial services.

3. Each Regional Authority should be provided with permanent secretariat and inspectorate, experts, and research staff, together with funds to aid development.

4. The Regional Authorities should contain representatives of the independent nations and of the colonial powers within the area, of the colonial peoples themselves, of nations especially interested in the strategic or economic aspects of the region, and of some nations without special interests in the region.

5. If other nations in the international organisation are willing to accept their share of responsibility for military security and economic prosperity, the Regional Authority should have

wide rights: *e.g.* inspection, the investigation of grievances on the spot, the publication of reports with its own comments, advice and the suggestion of policy aimed at securing self-government and high standards of welfare for the native inhabitants, etc.

6. Strategic bases in the colonies should be transferred as soon as possible to the World Organisation. If an International Police Force comes into being, such bases should be garrisoned by it.

7. A Colonial Charter should be proclaimed as soon as possible, based on the principle of equality of opportunity for all peoples, on the doctrine of trusteeship, and on the association of the peoples of the Colonies with those of the advanced nations in a progressive partnership.

8. In the Charter, Colonial Powers should renounce the right to transfer territories to other powers, to alienate further land or mineral rights, to encourage further white or foreign settlement, and to employ forced labour or other measures discriminating against the local inhabitants.

9. The progressive raising of standards of welfare is best achieved through a series of International Colonial Conventions established through the I.L.O.

10. In the absence of adequate international action, Britain should proclaim its own Colonial Charter, frame its own Colonial conventions for the dependent Empire, and appoint a quota of staff of other nationalities in its colonial services. In particular it should lay down the general principle that all posts in the Colonies are open to the native inhabitants, subject only to proper qualifications. It should also arrange for the pooling of facilities of strategic bases with like-minded nations.

11. Within the British Colonial Empire, administrative unification is overdue in various regions (*e.g.* the West Indies). Such regional groupings should be equipped with a technical and administrative staff of highest calibre. Other steps leading to regional unity should be encouraged—*e.g.* regional universities, research stations, conferences of native administrators, etc.

12. A series of Four-year Plans with definite targets are required to provide improved medical, town-planning, social welfare, agricultural and educational services, and for general

economic development throughout the colonial empire.

13. Experimental schemes or campaigns should be at once launched in relation to health, birth-control, mass education, social survey, new agricultural methods, pest control, co-operative production and marketing, hydro-electricity, irrigation, light industries, etc. Research should be speeded up, and surveys should be immediately taken in all relevant fields.

14. Definite policies should be worked out and publicly proclaimed in relation to survey and research, population, forestry, agriculture, the conservation of natural resources and wild life, tourist traffic, the encouragement of local cultural activity and interest. A series of National Parks and National Forest Parks should be at once established.

15. Measures must be taken to stop the drain of financial resources from the colonies to the colonial power and to other advanced nations, and to ensure that all profits above a certain reasonable minimum are ploughed back into the area from which they are derived.

All large industrial, mining and commercial companies should be subjected to regulation to ensure the welfare of their employees and the development of the general area in which they operate.

16. Public Development Agencies, under public control, should be set up to undertake general planned development in selected backward regions. Such regions would be natural regions, and thus might cut across national boundaries. An Investment Board should be set up to canalize private finance into these and other agencies of colonial development.

17. In Britain, a Joint Standing Committee of Parliament on colonial affairs should be set up. Much more extensive interchange is required between Britain and the colonies, both as regards official staff and private institutions such as universities.

18. More information about the colonies, both general and special, is needed in Britain. Only on the basis of fuller understanding will the peoples of this country be brought to a realization of their enormous opportunities and responsibilities in relation to the colonies, and be willing to make the sacrifice necessary to help the colonial peoples adequately to secure self-government and equality of standards of life.

